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HISTORICAL ROOTS OF SHI'ISM IN IRAN

Habip DEMiR

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Historical Roots of Shi'ism in Iran

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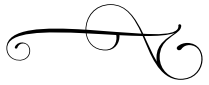
To the honoured
memory of
Prof. Dr. Hasan ONAT



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PREFACE

Muslims' interactions with non-Islamic cultures were primarily confined to the regions of Mecca and Medina, where they encountered Jewish and Christian cultures. However, with the initial conquests, Muslims began to interact with Sasanian, Byzantine, and Greek cultures and civilizations. Undoubtedly, the most significant of these was the Sasanian civilization. Khorasan, the geographical epicenter of the Sasanian civilization, was the inaugural region to be conquered by the Muslims. The region, which is often referred to as "Khorasan", encompasses the geographical area east of Hijaz and Iraq. It was a significant cultural and social center, contributing to the development of both geography and civilization. This cultural basin played a pivotal role in the development of Islamic civilization following the dissemination of Islam to this region. The region has produced numerous scholars who have made significant contributions to Islamic sciences.

Sects, otherwise referred to as schools of Islamic thought, are human formations that should be examined for their positive and negative contributions to Islamic civilization. Shiʿism and Sunnism are among the sects that sought to disseminate in Khorasan from its inception. Consequently, to comprehend the

history of Islamic thought and civilization accurately, it is imperative to understand Shiʿism, particularly the activities and dissemination of Shiʿism in the eastern regions.

A two-way relationship exists between sect and geography. In some cases, the two concepts are so intertwined that they become indistinguishable. In the case of Khorasan, although the sectarian background of the region has been examined in terms of Murjiah and Khārijism, the Shiʿite background of Khorasan, which has undergone significant Shiʿiteization, particularly since the Safawid period, has not been the subject of scholarly research. However, after Iraq, Khorasan has been a geography where the people who contributed the most to the formation of the sect and gave identity to Shiʿism lived and produced works. In this context, the objective of our study is to trace this accumulation in the first four centuries of Hijri and to analyze Shiʿism in the region in the context of person, place, time, and idea, limited to this period.

A comprehensive analysis of the geographical boundaries of Khorasan is initiated, followed by an examination of the pre-Islamic religious structure of the region. This analysis explores the role of Khorasan in the development of Shiʿism and the transformation of the region under Islamic influence. In this context, the study reveals that Khorasan was one of the regions where numerous religions, including Zoroastrianism, Manichaeism, Mazdekism, Judaism, and Christianity, had developed. The intellectual infrastructure of the region is then analyzed, with the inclusion of non-Shīʿa sectarian movements.

In the initial chapter, which pertains to the political manifestations of Shiʿism in Khorasan, an effort is made to ascertain Khorasan's association with early Shiʿite ideologies. In this context, the political activities of the pioneers of the Kaysāniyya, Zaydiyya, Ismāʿiliyya and Imāmiyya in Khorasan during

the first four centuries are examined. The historical record indicates that Yahyā b. Zayd traveled to Khorasan and established relations with the pro-Hashimite groups there, suggesting the presence of unions in the region founded on love and affection for the Prophet's lineage rather than anti-Umayyad sentiments. This interest in the Prophet's lineage gained significant momentum in the early third century when Ali al-Ridā, one of the Shiʿite imams, emerged as the heir apparent to the Abbasid throne. This development led to a substantial migration of the Sādāt from Hijaz and Iraq to Khorasan.

The region of Khorasan garnered the attention of the Imāmi groups following ʿAli al-Ridā's migration there. This area subsequently became a geographic region where a unified body of believers formed around the sayings of the Imāms. As a result, a significant number of works were edited. This scattered accumulation of narrations containing the sayings of the Imāms while they were still alive was first edited in Khorasan cities such as Qom, Ray, Nīshābur, and Jurjān, where political pressure was relatively low. Consequently, Khorasan became the scene of scholarly activity for the Imāmi groups. The profound influence of this accumulation is evident in the composition of two seminal hadīth collections of the Imāmiyya: al-Kulaynī's *Usūl al-Kāfī* and Shaykh Sadūq's *Man Lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh*. These works, deeply influenced by the rich tradition of Khorasan, serve as a testament to the intellectual and spiritual flourishing of the region during this period. Consequently, the Imāmi movement prevailed over competing Shiʿite sects.

In this study, an effort was made to analyze all documents that mention the geography of Khorasan and provide direct or indirect information about Shiʿite activities in this region until the 5th/11th century. However, given the Shiʿite sources' heightened engagement with this subject, they have been utilized to

a greater extent. The Shiʿite sources' heightened engagement with the subject is indicative of their vested interest. In order to ensure the reliability of the data, it has been supported by additional sources from the same period as well as contemporary research. Given the extensive geographical scope and temporal span of the study, considerable efforts have been made to address challenges such as generalization and reductionism. Nevertheless, it is hypothesized that the present study will address an important gap in the existing literature by focusing on the initial activities and the dissemination of a prominent sect such as Shīʿa in Khorasan up to the 5th/11th century. This unique approach draws upon the methodologies employed in the history of sects, particularly within the framework of the unity of "idea-event-person-person-time-space."

The present study is grounded in the author's PhD thesis, entitled "Horasan'da Şiilik," which was completed at Ankara University in 2016. During the process of translating the thesis into English, the fundamental elements of the original work have been maintained and select sources have been updated to reflect the most recent scholarship in the field.

This study has been made possible by the contributions of numerous individuals, whose contributions cannot be acknowledged individually. First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my esteemed PhD advisor, Prof. Dr. Sönmez Kutlu. Prof. Kutlu meticulously followed all the stages of the study from the determination of the study to its present form and contributed with his critical feedback and assessments. I would also like to express my profound gratitude to Prof. Dr. Hasan Onat, who we tragically lost in 2020 and whose memory we still keep alive. Prof. Onat guided our studies by providing a perspective in the Department of History of Islamic Sects. I would also like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr.

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Gumushane-2024

INTRODUCTION

On the Sources

This study, which examines the subject of Shiʿism in Khorasan, must refer to many different sources. Consequently, the present title will methodically categorize these sources according to their respective contributions to the research, thereby facilitating a comprehensive and systematic examination of the subject.

Geography Works and City Histories

Geography works are among the sources that the science of history benefits from the most. These works not only deal with the geographical features of cities, but also contain valuable information about the cultural, religious and social life of the city. Since these types of works are generally written by travelers who visited the cities or by people who were there due to an official duty, their objectivity is always questionable, and they provide data between the lines about the period described that cannot be found anywhere else. Since our study deals with a region within a certain period, it was felt necessary to consult geographical works first.

In order to determine the geographical boundaries of Khorasan in the early periods of Islam and to obtain general in-

formation about the socio-cultural structure of the region, we have studied the works of *al-Buldān* by al-Yaʿqubī (d. 292/897),[1] *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* by Ibn Khurdadbih (d. 300/912),[2] *Kitāb al-Aʿlāk al-Nafīsa* by Ibn Rustah (d. after 300/913),[3] *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* by al-Istakhrî (d. 346/957),[4] *al-Buldân* by Ibn al-Faqīh (d. 365/975),[5] *Kitāb al-Sūrat al-ʿArz* by Ibn Hawqal (d. 368/978),[6] *Ahsan al-Taqāsim* by al-Maqdisī (d. 380/990)[7] after personally visiting almost all the cities of Khorasan; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam min al-Mashriq ilā al-Maghrib*,[8] whose author is unknown, was understood to have been written in the 4th/10th century. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229), one of the geographers of the later period, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*[9] and Abū al-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1327) *Taqwīm al-Buldān* [10] is among the first works examined in our study.

In addition to these, local histories have a very important role in our study. Local histories are works that deal with a certain city from various political, social, economic and religious perspectives. As far as the Khorasan region is concerned, it is

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1 Ahmad ibn Ishaq al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, thk. Muhammad Amin Danāwī, Dāru al-Kutubi al-Ilmiyya, Beirut 1422/2001.

2 Abū al-Qāsim Ubaydullah b. Abdullah Ibn Khurdadbih, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, Beirut 1992.

3 Abī ʿAli Ahmad ibn ʿUmar Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-ʿAʿlāq al-Nafīsa*, thk. M. J. De Goeje, Leiden 1892.

4 Ibn Ishaq Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Fārisī al-Istakhrī, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, thk. Muhammad Jabir 'Abdu'l-' Al al-Hīnī, Cairo 2004.

5 Abī Bakr Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Hamadānī Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, thk. Yūsuf al-Hādī, Beirut 1416/1995.

6 Abū al-Qāsim al-Nasībī Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb al-Sūrat al-Arz*, Beirut 1938.

7 Shamsuddin Abī ʿAbdullah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Abī Bakr al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim fī Ma'rifat al-Akālīm*, ed. Muhammad Amin al-Dannâbî, Dāru al-Kutubi al-Ilmiyya, Beirut 1424/2003.

8 Author Unknown, *Hudūd al-Alam min al-Mashrik ilā al-Maghrib*, thk. Yusuf al-Hādī, Dāru al-saqāfiyya, Cairo 1423/2002.

9 Shihāb al-Dīn ibnʿAbdullāh Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*, IV, Beirut 1979-1986.

10 Imāduddīn Ismāʿīl b. Muhammad b. ʿUmar Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Taqwīm al-Buldān*, ed. M. Reinaud, Beirut. (Offset from the 1840 Paris edition.)

known that there are many local histories, although most of them have not survived to the present day.[11]

There is not enough information in the early sources about Qom, which was one of the most important and influential cities in the development process of Shiʿism in Khorasan. It is interesting that al-Tabarī, who especially drew attention to the smallest and most insignificant details about the period he covered, did not mention the city in his famous *Tārikh*. The fact that the migration of the Ashʿar tribe and the early periods of the city of Qom were not recorded may have been due to the fact that the events related to Qom were not important enough to be recorded in history. In parallel with the increasing place of the city in Shīʿite thought, many works were written in the following centuries.[12] The earliest work we have on the city of Qom is Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan Qommī's (d. 4th/10th century) *Tārīkh-e Qom*, written in 378/988 and dedicated to the Buwayhid vizier Sāhib ibn Abbād.[13] The original of the work is in Arabic and we do not have it. The part we have is the Persian translation made by Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn Hasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Qommī in 805/1402.[14] Only five chapters have survived from the Persian translation of the work, which is known to consist of twenty chapters. The author has mentioned the names

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[11] For an assessment of urban histories in Iran, see Richard W. Bulliet, "City Histories in Medial Iran", *Iranian Studies* 1 (1968), pp. 104-109; Parvaneh Pourshariati, "Local Historiography in Early Medieval Iran and the Tarikh-i Bayhaq", *Iranian Studies*, 33/1-2 (Winter - Spring 2000), 133-164; for works belonging to the Khorasan region, see Haji Khalifa Mustapha ibn Abdullah Kātip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn an Asāmī al-Kutub wa al-Funūn*, I-II, tsh. M. Şerefettin Yaltkaya, Kilisli Rifat Bilge, Maarif Matbaası, Ankara 1941.

[12] For a list of works written about the city of Qom see Husayn Mudarrisī, *Ketābshināshi-ye Āsār-e Marbūt bi-Qom*, Hikmat, Qom 1353/1974.

[13] Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, tr. Hasan ibn Abdulmalik al-Qommī, Intisharāt-e Zāir, Qom 1385/2006.

[14] Fuad Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, trans. Mahmud Fahmi Hijāzī, Riyadh 1411/1991.

of the sources he used in various places of his work. When we look at the sources he used, the fact that he used about twenty works that we do not have today shows how valuable this work is in terms of the region and period. We reached the first information about the migration of the Arab tribes, especially the Ashʿar tribe, to the city of Qom, the arrival of Fāṭima bint Mūsā to the city and the shrine there through this work.

Although it was one of the largest and liveliest cities of Khorasan, we do not have an independent history of Ray. However, it is known from the sources that two books were written with the name *Tārikhu Ray* and both of them were written by Shiʿites. The oldest work written about the city of Ray,[15] as far as we know, is *Tārikhu Ray* by Abū Saʿd Abī Mansūr ibn Husayn (d. 421/1030).[16] It was quoted by authors such as ʿAbd Al-Jalīl Qazvīnī (living in 560/1164), Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1228), Ḥāfeẓ-e Abrū (d. 834/1430). Abū Saʿd Abī served as a vizier to the Buwayhids during the reign of Majd al-Dawla (d. after 420/1029). The other work on Ray is Shaykh Muntajabuddīn ʿAli b. Bābawayh al-Rāzī's (d. 585/1189) *Tārīkhu Ray*. There are many quotations in *Lisān al-Mīzan*[17] from the work that we do not have.[18] We have tried to find information about the Shiʿite in the city from both works.

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15 Abū al-Fadl Hākimiyān, *Ma'hazshināsi-ye Hazrat 'Abd al-'Azīm wa Shahr-e Ray*, Qom 1382/2003.

16 Kātip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, I/295.

17 Ahmad ibn ʿAli al-ʿAsqalānī Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, I-X, thk. Abdulfettah Abū Ghudda, Maktabat al-Matbuati al-Islāmiyya, Beirut 1423/2002, I/325, 335, 356, 376, 404, 407, 448, 558, 666, IV/74, 83, 85, V/294, VI/509, 555, 576, 584, VII/6, 12, 29, 33, 36, 399, 518, 526.

18 Husayn Karīman, *Ray-i Bāstān*, I-II, 2nd edition, Intishārāt-ı Dânishgāh-ı Shahīd Beheshti, Tehran 1371/1992, I/5-7; Urmavī, who wrote a taʿlikāt in the book of Shaykh Muntajabuddin's *al-Fihrist*, attributed the reason for not writing an independent city history for the city of Ray, as in other cities, to the fact that the majority of the city was Shīʿa. He claims that the city, which is known for its Shīʿa, was not wanted to be brought to the agenda due to both bigotry and in-

The most important of the city histories of Nīshābur, one of the largest cities of Khorasan, is that of Abū ʿAbd-Allāh al-Hakīm al-Nīshāburī's (d. 405/1014) *Tārīkh-e Nīshābur*.[19] Al-Hakīm, who is mostly known for his hadith collection called *al-Mustadrak*, is considered one of the most important scholars of Khorasan and the entire Islamic world. It is narrated that the book, the original of which we do not have, consists of 12 volumes in total and reflects a wide accumulation of information such as the history, geography and dignitaries of Nīshābur up to the century in which the author lived. A small part of the work, which is originally in Arabic, was translated into Persian by Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Ahmad (d. ?), known as Caliph al-Nīshāburī. The parts we have are the ones that have survived from this translation. Many authors after him have benefited from the original of the book. The work is written was edited by Karīmī from the manuscript found in the library of Kurşunlu Mosque in Bursa in 1960 and published in Tehran. It was later republished by Richard Frye in 1965 under the title *The Histories of Nishapur* using the same copy. Although it does not mention any known Shiʿites people, we have referred to the work in the sections on the people of Alid who migrated to the city and the arrival of ʿAli al-Ridā, one of the Shiʿite Imāms, in the city.

About the city of Jurjān, al-Sahmī's (d. 427/1036) *Tārīkhu Jurjān*[20] is among the oldest works.[21] The work includes narra-

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difference. (See Shaykh Muntajabuddin ʿAli ibn Bābawayh al-Rāzī, *al-Fihrist*, thk. Sayyid Jalaluddin Muhaddis Urmawi, Kitābkhāna-i Ayatollah Mar'ashī, Qom 1366/1987, 310-311.)

19 Abū ʿAbdullah Muhammad ibn ʿAbdullah al-Hākim al-Nisābūrī, *Tārīkh-e Nīsābur*, tlh. Khalīfa al-Nisābūrī, thk. Bahman Karīmī, Tehran 1339/1960.

20 Abī al-Qāsim Hamza ibn Hamza ibn Yusuf ibn Ibrahim al-Sahmī, *Tārīkhu Jurjān aw Kitāb Maʿrifet Ulamā Ahl al-Jurjān*, tsh. Abdurrahman b. Yahyā al-Yemānī, Hyderabad 1369/1950.

21 Carl Brockelmann, *Tārīkhu al-Adabī al-Arabī*, Ar. Translation. Mahmoud Fahmi Hijazi, Cairo 1993, III/447.

tions from nearly 1000 people who have some kind of connection with Jurjān and Astarābād. The book is a work of hadith, beyond being a history of the city. We could not find any person known to be a Shīʿa among the people whose narrations were conveyed. For this reason, we could not benefit sufficiently from this work, which contains the oldest information about the city.

Ibn Funduq's (d. 565/1169) work on the city of Bayhaq, titled *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*[22] is extremely important for our study. The author, who is understood to have lived in Bayhaq, says that he deals with people who lived in the city and are known in some way, but there is no expression such as "Shīʿa, Shiʿite" in his work. This fact, which may also mean that no person famous for his Shiʿism lived here until that period, can also be understood as the fact that such a work, written under the supervision of the political power of the period, did not include these people due to the influence of political goals. However, the author frequently uses the term Alawī in the sections on the activities of the families descended from ʿAli ibn Abī Tālib in Bayhaq. In this aspect, it is one of the works that we benefit from a lot. Apart from this, Abū al-Fadl Bayhaqī (d. 470/1077) *Tārīkh-e Bayhaqī*[23] was not used in our study because it focuses on the political developments of the Ghaznavid period.

We do not have enough resources on the history of Balkh.[24] The oldest work that has survived to the present day is *Fadāel-e Balkh* by Ibn Dāwud al-Balkhī (lived in 610/1214).[25] The original

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22 Abū al-Hasan ʿAli ibn Abī al-Qāsim ibn Zayd Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, ed. Ahmad Bahmanyar, 2nd Edition, Ketabfurushe-ye Furughi, 1317/1938.

23 Abū al-Fadl Muhammad b. Husayn Bayhaqī, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaqī*, I-II, 4th edition, Intisārāt-e Sohen, Tehran 1392/2013.

24 One of the works that has not reached us is that of Muhammad ibn Uqayl ibn Azhar al-Balkhī's *Tārīkh-e Balkh*. There are quotes from the work in *Fadāel-e Balkh*. There is information that he collected the news and hadiths of Banu Hashim. (See Katip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, I/289.)

25 ʿAbdullah b. ʿUmar b. Muhammad al-Waizī Ibn Dāwud al-Balkhī, *Fadāel-e Balkhī*,

Arabic work was translated into Persian by Abdullah Husaynī al-Balkhī in 676/1278. The copy we have is this Persian translation of the work. Unfortunately, instead of all the scholars who lived in the city, only Hanafī scholars were included in the work, which did not provide any benefit for our study.

Not enough works have been written to enlighten the pre-Safavid period of Tūs or later Mashhad. The earliest work on the subject is *Matlaʿu al-Shams*, written around 1300/1882.[26]

Very few works have come down to us about Marw.[27] Abbas b. Musʿab al-Marwazī's *Tārīkhu Marw*[28] and Abū al-Hasan Ahmad ibn Sayyār's (d. 268/881)[29] *Tārīkhu Marw*[30] although the names of his works are mentioned, we do not have them.

Although many city histories have been written about Herāt, the ones we have today are limited.[31] In the light of the existing sources, it is seen that the first city history written about Herāt is *Tārīkh-e Herāt* by ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār Abū Nasr Fāmī (472-546/1079-1151).[32] The work, which was quoted by many writers after him, is in existence today. A facsimile of the work was published in Tehran in recent years.[33] One

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trans. into Persian by Abdullah Husayni al- Balkhī, ed. Abdulhayy Habībī, Tehran 1350/1971.

26 Muhammad Hasan Khan (I'timādu's-Saltana), *Matlaʿu al-Shams*, I-III, Intishārāt-e Pīshgām, Tehran 1362/1983.

27 For a list of works about the city of Marw that have not reached us, see Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 21; Kātip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, I/303; Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, II/223-226; Mehmet Mahfuz Söylemez, *Horasan'ın Bilim Merkezi Merv*, Ankara Okulu Yay., Ankara 2016, 11-15.

28 Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 21.

29 Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, II/223; Sezgin states the date of death of Ahmad ibn Sayyar as 198. There is probably an error in this date.

30 Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 21.

31 For the names of some works written on the history of Herāt that are not available today, see Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 21; Kātip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, I/309-310; Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, II/224; Jürgen Paul, "The Histories of Herât", *Iranian Studies*, 33/1-2 (Winter - Spring 2000), pp. 93-115.

32 Kātip Çelebi, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, 309.

33 Shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahman Fāmī Herawī, *Tārīkh-e Herāt*, ed. Muhammad Hasan

of the earliest histories of Herāt is the *Tārikhnāme-e Herāt* by Sayf b. Muhammad b. Herawī (7th/early 13th century).[34] The work describes political events from the time of Genghis Khan to his own time. Therefore, it is not important for our study. Isfizārī (897-899/1491)'s *Rawdāt al-Jannāt fī Awsāf Medina al-Herāt* on Herāt is also among the works we partially benefited from.[35]

Bibliographic Works

Since one of the main areas of interest of our study is the individuals attributed to the cities of Khorasan and their works, it is a necessity to concentrate on bibliographical works. Since the individuals known to be Shīʿa are not given enough place in the Sunnī Rijāl and Tabaqāt books, we obtained information about these individuals by referring to Shīʿa sources.

Although it is claimed that the science of rijāl in Shīʿa started from the ʿAli,[36] it is seen that the first works on this subject have reached us since the 3rd/9th century. The oldest of the Shīʿa rijāl books is al-Barqī's (d. 281/893) *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt*.[37] The name of the work and its authorship are controversial.[38] The work, which is published independently today, is actually a

Mir Husayni-Muhammad Ridā Abū al-Mehrîzî, Markaz Pejuhesh-e Miras-e Maktub, Tehran 1387/2008.

34 Sayf ibn Muhammad ibn Herawī, *Tārīkhnāme-e Herāt*, ed. M. Zubayr al-Sādıqī, Ketabfurusheye Khayyam, Calcutta 1362/1943.

35 Muīnuddin Muhammad Zamjī Isfizārī, *Rawdāt al-Jannāt fī Awsāf Medīna Herāt*, tsh. and thk. Seyyed Muhammad Kazem Imām, Dānishgāh-i Tehran, Tehran 1338/1959.

36 Mansūr Pahlavān, "Pajūhishī dar Kutub-e Rījāl-e Imāmiyya dar Qarn-e Sawwom," *Pajūhish-e Dīnī*, 7 (1383/2004), 27-36.

37 Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, thk. Sāmir Kazim al-Hafājī, Mektebetu Ayatollah Mar'ashī Najafī, Qom 1428/2007.

38 Shaykh Jaʿfar al-Subhānī, *Kulliyāt fī Elm al-Rijāl*, Qom 1410/1990, 72-73; The name of the work is also mentioned as *Kitāb al-Tabakāt al-Rijāl*. (See Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn al-Hasan Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 3rd edition, Muessesat al-Neshri al-Fuqaha, Qom 1429/2009, 64.)

section of the same author's work called *al-Mahāsin*.[39] Since it is the first work that chronologically presents the people in the ashāb layer of the 12 people who are accepted as Imāms, it is among the first sources we consulted in identifying the Khorasanīan rāwīs of the Imāms.

One of the most fundamental sources of Khorasan Shiʿism is the work of Abū Amr Muhammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Abd al-Azīz al-Kashshī (d. mid-4th/10th century), who himself lived in this area and benefited from the scientific tradition of the region. It is his work known as *Rijāl al-Kashshī*.[40] The real name of the work *is Kitāb Maʿrifat al-Nāqilīn an al-Aimme al-Sādiqīn*. However, the work was shortened and partially extracted by Abū Jaʿfar Tūsī (Shaykh) (d. 460/1067) under the title *Ikhtiyār Maʿrifat al-Rijāl*. The work known as *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, which has survived to the present day, consists of this summary summarized by Shaykh Tūsī. The work is among the top works of the books in this field, both with the variety of sources it uses and the uniqueness of the contexts of the narrations it deals with.[41] Although there is not enough information about al-Kashshī's life, it is certain that he grew up in the Khorasan-Transoxiana region and that he was nourished by this area in terms of science. It is seen that the people he received narrations from were primarily from the Khorasan region and from cities such as Kūfa, Baghdād, and Basra. For this reason, it is understood that he traveled to these regions where Shiʿites were densely populat-

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39 Mohammad Rezā Jabbārī, *Maktab-e Ḥadīsi-ye Qom,* Āsitāne-e Muqaddasa-e Qom, Qo

40 Abī 'Amr Muhammad ibn ʿUmar ibnʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad al-Husaynī, Muessesat al-'Alāmī li al-Matbuat, Beirut 1430/2009.

41 Abdulaziz Sachedina, "Şiî Fakihlerin İlk Dönemdeki Rolünün Anlaşılmasında Keşşî'nin Ricâl'inin Önemi", *Şîa'nın Hadis Anlayışı Üzerine İncelemeler*, derleyen ve çev. M. Macit Karagözoğlu ve M. Enes Topgül, Klasik Yay., İstanbul 2015, 68-70.

ed. His work is among the first works that should be looked at for anyone who writes Shiʿite history or deals with this field, both in his own time and after him. Interestingly, the work, which uses the method of delving into individuals by considering the narrations, has not left a mark (as a method) on the tradition of Shiʿite dignitaries after itself.[42]

Al-Kashshī follows a completely different method from both al-Barqī before him and al-Tūsī, who wrote the book of *Rijāl* after him. He lists all the narrations, positive and negative, about the people he deals with in his work and most of the time he does not explain his own opinion about the person when he gives information about. His method, in addition to many original features, shows that he also benefited significantly from the method of the Sunnī hadith scholars in the Khorasan region and even imitated them in a way. Perhaps because of this feature, although everyone who studied the science of *Rijāl* after him included his narrations in some way, the method he followed was not continued in the following centuries.[43]

One of the first names that comes to mind when it comes to *Rijāl* books in Shīʿa is Abū Jaʿfar al-Tūsī (d. 460/1067). His work known as *Rijāl al-Tūsī*,[44] in which he chronologically examines the companions of the Imāms, and *al-Fihrist*,[45] which includes the works of Shīʿa scholars who lived up to his time, are among the first referenced and most used works in this field. While we are at it, we need to give a special place to Shaykh

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42 For a detailed study on the place of the work in Shīʿite rijal science, see Muhammad Enes Topgül, *Erken Dönem Şiî Rical İlmi Keşşî Örneği*, İFAV yay., İstanbul 2015, 111-206.

43 For a general description of the work, see Topgül, *Erken Dönem Şiî Rical İlmi Keşşî Örneği*, 119-123.

44 Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn al-Hasan Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, thk. Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Isfahanī, Muessesat al-Nashri al-Islamī, 5th edition, Qom 1430/2009.

45 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*.

Tūsī, who is one of the most important names not only in terms of our work but also in the scientific heritage of the Shīʿa Imāmiyya. Shaykh Tūsī is perhaps a figure who should be in the first place in terms of his contribution to the sect in the entire history of the Imāmiyya. In addition to the books, he wrote, *Rijāl* and *al-Fihrist,* the first thing that comes to mind when Shīʿa Rijāl science is mentioned today is al-Kashshī. The fact that he handed down the summary of his *Rijāl* to the next generations and that he was the author of two of the four basic books of jurisprudence called *Kutub-e Arbaʿa*[46] shows that Shaykh Tūsī is a bridge between the past and the future in the Shiʿite Imāmiyya. With these aspects, it is a necessity for him to be the subject of detailed studies in various branches of science.

al-Najāshī's *Fihrist al-Asmāʾi Musannif al-Shīʿa*, known as *Rijāl al-Najāshī*[47] for short, is very important for our study. In his work, al-Najāshī mentioned the people he considered important from the Shīʿa point of view, by indicating their works, if any, and his opinions about that person, such as "siqa, weak". In addition, with a meticulousness not seen in his predecessors, he mostly stated the dates of death of the people and the narrators through which he obtained information about that person's works.

Although it is more recent, in our study we will use the *Maālim al-ʿUlamā* of Ibn Shahrāshūb[48](d. 588/1192) and Allā-

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46 These are: 1. Muhammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī fi Ilm al-Dīn*; 2. Muhammad ibn ʿAli Bābawayh (Shaykh Sadūq), *Man lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*; 3. Muhammad ibn Hasan (Shaykh Tūsī), *Taḥzību al-Ahkām*; 4. Muhammad ibn Hasan, Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Istibsār*.

47 Abū al-Abbās Ahmad ibn ʿAliibn Ahmad al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* Shirkatu al-'Alāmī li al-Matbuāt, Beirut 1431/2010.

48 Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. ʿAli Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā fi Fihrist al-Kitāb al-Shīʿa wa Asmā'i al-Musannifina Minhum Qadīmen wa Hadithīsen*, Messeet al-Nashri al-Fuqahā, Qom 1425/2005.

ma al-Hillī's (d. 726/1325)[49] *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl* was used. Also, Shaykh Muntajabūddin's (d. 6th/12th century) *al-Fihrist*[50] was related to the important Shiʿite families of Bābawayh living in Ray and It is noteworthy in terms of giving the works of the ulema living until his own period from where Shaykh Tūsī's *al-Fihrist* left off. It is especially important for our study that he gave the works of scholars from the city of Ray.

In our study, the "Ansāb" genre works, which contain information about the genealogies of the progeny of ʿAli, were also used extensively. Among the earliest sources of this genre, Abū Nasr Sahl b. Abdallah al-Bukhārī (d. 4th/10th century)'s *Sirru al-Silsilāt al-Alawiyya fī Ansābi al-Sādāti al-Alawiyya*[51] is a very useful work for our research. Ibn Funduq (d. 565/1169)'s *Lubāb al-Ansāb wa al-Alkābi wa al-Aʿqāb*[52] is one of the books that should be seen in focusing on the personalities of the period. In particular, the fact that the author lived in Khorasan and often saw and recognised the people related to this region firsthand has made the work an important source for our research. Thanks to this work, we were able to reach the most satisfactory information about the members of the Tālibid who lived in Khorasan cities such as Nīshābur and Bayhaq and held important positions.

Ibn Tabātabā (alive in 479/1086)'s *Muntaqilāt al-Tālibiyya*[53] is

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49 Allāma al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿAli ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl fī Maʿrifat al-Rijāl* thk. Jawād al-Qayyūmī, Müessesetu Neshri al-Fuqahā, Qom 1388/2009.

50 ʿAli ibn Bābawayh al-Rāzī Shaykh Muntajabūddin, *al-Fihrist*, thk. Sayyid Jalaluddin Muhaddis Urmawi, Kitābhāna-i Ayatollah Marʿashī, Qom 1366/1987.

51 Abū Nasr Sahl b. Abdullah al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya fi Ansāb al-Sādāti al-Alawiyya*, thk. Sayyid Mahdî Rajâî, Qom 1389/2011.

52 Abū al-Hasan ʿAli ibn Abī al-Qāsim ibn Zayd Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-Ansāb wa al-Alkāb wa al-Aʿqāb*, I-II, thk. Seyyed Mahdī al-Rajāī, Maktabatu Ayatollah Marʿashī Najafī, 2nd edition, Qom 1385/2007.

53 Abū Ismāʿil Ibrahim b. Nāṣir Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, thk. Sayyid Muhammad Mahdī, Sayyid Hasan al-Khorasan, Mektebet al-Haydariyya, Na-

also among the works that we have made the most use of in our study. In his book, the author, who belongs to the Hasanī lineage of the sons of ʿAli, lists the names and descendants of the members of the Talibī lineage who came and settled in that city alphabetically according to the city names. This book is a unique source for our study because it lists the names according to the cities of Khorasan and belongs to the early period.

Political Histories

The fact that Shiʿism emerged on the stage of history as a political movement necessitated that political history books bearing the socio-political and religious-cultural traces of the period in which they were written be the source works for our study. There is no work that covers the first four centuries we examine and is directly devoted to our subject. General political histories of al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 292/897) *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*,[54] al-Tabarī (d. 310/922) *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*,[55] Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 630/1232) *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh* [56] Ibn al-Jawzī 's (d. 597/1201) *al-Muntazam*[57] is among the first works to be looked at in order to see our period as a whole and to get clues about its socio-political background and a general impression.

The most important source of our study in this category is Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī's (d. 356/966) *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*.[58] The work

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jaf 1388/1968.

54 Ahmad ibn Ishaq al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, I-II, Dāru al-Zehrā, Qom 1387/2008.

55 Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn Jarīr al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, I-XI, thk. Muhammad Abū'l-Fazl Ibrahim, Beirut 1387/1967.

56 ' 'Izzuddin Abū al-Hasan ʿAli b. Abī al-Karem Muhammad Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh*, I-XI, thk. Mohammad Yusuf Dukāka, Beirut 1407/1987.

57 Abū al-Faraj Abd al-Rahman Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam fi Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa al-Umm,* thk. Muhammad Abdulqadir Ata and Mustapha Abdulqadir Ata, Dāru al-Kutubi al-Ilmiyya, Beirut 1412/1992.

58 ʿAli ibn al-Husayn Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, Dār al-Murtazā, Beirut 1430/2009.

of Abū al-Faraj, who is known to be a Zaydī Shīʿa, contains important clues about the political activities of the early period Alid tribes in all regions.[59] It deals with a detailed examination of important individuals belonging to the Alid tribes, based on the assumption that they were somehow killed. Although the fact that some of the information given by Abū al-Faraj cannot be confirmed by other sources of the period makes us doubtful when quoting from the work, it is noteworthy in terms of reflecting the Shīʿa perspective on political history. The work of Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī was used especially in the first part of our study, where we talk about Zaydī movements. While mentioning the rebellion of Zayd b. ʿAli and Yahyā b. Zayd, it can be seen that many of the narrations are from Muhammad b. ʿAli b. Shādhān, who lived in Nīshābur and was the nephew of the famous Shiʿite scholar Fadl b. Shādhān (d. 260/873). Muhammad's narrations are also based on Abū Mihnaf, the famous narrator of al-Tabarī, who is not considered reliable. From this point of view, it can be said that the narrations originating from Abū Mihnaf, who was also accused of being a supporter of Alid, were used among the Shiʿite groups living in Khorasan and passed on to their own history books.

Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya, author unknown, focusing on the political history of the Abbasids.[60] It is important in that it conveys information not found in other sources about the Shiʿites in the Umayyad period and the early years of the Abbasids. The anonymous work also provides important details about the Abbasid lineage. The work, which is seen to have mentioned in detail the event of the granting of the caliphate to the Abbasids by Abū Hāshim, is written in a defensive style, which prevents us from seeing its narrations as reliable.

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59 Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, II/280-86.

60 *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya wa Fīh Akhbār al-Abbās wa Waladihī*, ed. 'Abdulaziz al-Dūrī and ʿAbd al-Jabbar al-Muttalibī, Beirut 1391/1971.

Another work is Abū Bakr Muhammad b. Abbās al-Khwarizmī's (d. 383/985) letter, *Risāla ilā Jamāat al-Shīa bi-Nīsābūr,*[61] written to the Shiʿite community in Nīshābur. This letter of the author, who was himself a Shiʿite and lived in Khorasan, is remarkable in terms of showing the social position of the Shiʿites of the period.

Firaq and Maqālāts

The works in the genre of Firaq and Maqālāt are among the most important sources of the History of Sects. Since these works are mostly written to defend or reject a certain sect, it is necessary to approach the information contained in the work with caution. In this context, one of the main sources of our study is Fadl b. Shādhān's (d. 260/873) *al-Īzāh*,[62] which was written as a refutation of various sects in the region. al-Kashshī, al-Najāshī, and Shaykh Tūsī did not mention a book by Fadl b. Shādhān with this title in their works. It is interesting that such an important work of a person whose 30-odd works are counted is not mentioned in the early rijāl books. Ibn al-Fūṭī (d. 823/1420), one of the authors of the 8th/14th century, was the first to mention the book's authorship by Fadl b. al-Shādhān. Ibn al-Fūṭī gives the title of the book as *al-Īzāḥ fi al-Imāma*. Then Fayd al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680) mentions this work. Based on the fact that the book is not mentioned in the early period sources, it is emphasised that it does not belong to Fadl b. Shādhān.[63] Although the absence of the book's name in early sources arous-

[61] Sādiq Āinevend, "Sharh Risālati Abī Baqr al-Khārezmī ilā Jamāʿati al-Shīʿa bi-Nīsābūr," *al-Irfan*, 73/6-7 (Beirut, 1364/1985), pp. 44-65. Syed Waheed Akhtar, *Early Shiʿite Imāmiyah Thinkers*, New Delhi 1988, pp. 44-65.

[62] Fadl b. Shādhān al-Nīshābūrī, *al-Īzāh*, thk. Sayyid Jalal al-Dīn Urmawī, Intishārāt-e Dānishgāh-e Tehran, Tehran 1363/1984.

[63] Ahmad Pāketchī, "Ibn Shādhān", *Dāyiraat al-Maʿārif al-Bozorg al-Islamī*, Tehran 1380/2001, IV/50-52.

es suspicion, the author of the book, al-Urmawī, states that this work may be *al-Izāḥ*, based on the fact that Shaykh Tūsī mentions in his book *al-Fihrist* that Fadl's student ʿAli b. Qutayba al-Nīshābūrī collected a work called al-Dībāj.[64] In any case, the language of the work, the subjects it deals with and the issues discussed strengthen the thesis that the work is a product of the 3rd/9th century. Moreover, the statements about Fadl b. Shādhān in al-Kashshī and the ideas in this work are largely compatible.[65]

Among the early Shiʿite maqālāt works, al-Qommī's (d. 300/912) *Kitāb al-Maqālāt wa al-Firaq* and *al-Firaq al-Shīʿa*[66] by al-Nawbakhtī (d. 302/915) have been useful in tracing the divisions within Shīʿa in the early period. The information provided by these works includes *Maqālat al-Islamiyyīn wa al-Ikhtilāf al-Musallīn*[67] by Abū al-Hasan al-Ashʿarī (d. 324/936), al-Baghdādī's *al-Farq bayn al-Firaq*,[68] Abū Hatim al-Rāzī's (d. 322/933) *al-Kitāb al-Zīna*,[69] and al-Shahristānī's (d. 549/1153) *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*. [70]

Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī's (alive 560/1164) work, known simply as *Naqd*,[71] is a voluminous work written during the Seljuk pe-

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64 Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 11-12.

65 Metin Bozan, *İmamiyye'nin İmamet Nazariyesi'nin Teşekkül Süreci*, İSAM yay., İstanbul 2009, 15; Mahdī Bayāt Mukhtārī *Khorshīd-i Sharq dar Sada-e Savvom Fadl b. Shādhān Nīshābūrī*, Muassasa-e Kitabshināsi-ye Shīʿa, Qom 1392/2013, 602-608.

66 Kummî-Nevbahtî, *Şii Fırkalar: Kitâbu'l-Makâlât ve'l-Fırak / Fıraku'ş-Şîa*, trans. Hasan Onat-S. Hizmetli-S. Kutlu-R. Şimşek, Ankara Okulu Yay., Ankara 2004.

67 Ebu'l-Hasen el-Eş'arî, *İlk Dönem İslam Mezhepleri Makâlâtü'l-İslâmiyyîn ve İhtilâfu'l-Musallîn*, çev. Mehmet Dalkılıç-Ömer Aydın, Kabalcı yay., İstanbul 2005.

68 Abdulkāhir el-Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, tr. Ethem Ruhi Fığlalı, 4. Baskı, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları yay., Ankara 2007.

69 Abū Hatim al-Rāzī, Ahmad b. Hamdān, *Kitāb al-Zīna fi Kalima al-Islāmiyya,* thk. Abdallah Salām al-Sāmerrāʾī (in al-Ghuluw wa'l-Firqa al-Ghāliyya fi al-Ḥadarāti al-Islamiyya), Baghdād 1988.

70 Abū al-Fath Muhammad 'Abdulkerim al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, thk. Ibrahim Shams al-Din, Muessesat al-Aʿlamī, Beirut 1427/2006.

71 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd: Baʿdu Masālibi al-Nawāsib fi Naqd Baʿdu Fadāih al-Rawā-*

riod. Although there is not enough information about the author, it is understood from the content of the work that he lived in the city of Ray and wrote his work here. Naqd, which is one of the earliest works written in Persian by Shīʿa, is of great importance for our study as it provides a political, social, economic and religious-sectarian picture of Khorasan in the 6th/12th century and frequently refers to previous periods. The work, which was first edited by Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn Muhaddis Urmawī in 1952 and published in Tehran, was republished by the same author in 1979 with a two-volume addition called Taʿlīqāt. Finally, in 2012, the work was reprinted in Qom by Dāru al-Hadīs with the addition of new copies found.[72]

Shīʿa Hadith Collections

The hadith corpus, which began to be created at the end of the 3rd/9th century, played an important role in establishing Shīʿa's own methodology and carrying the sect to the next generations. Perhaps it is the influence of these works on the Shiʿite community that distinguished the Imāmiyya from other Shiʿite sects and enabled it to establish a clear superiority over them. The fact that the vast majority of this material produced bears the traces of the Khorasan geography made it necessary for us to turn to these works in our study.

Al-Kulaynī's *Usūl al-Kāfī*,[73] who was himself from the city of Ray and reflected the narration accumulation of Khorasan after the Imāms in his work, is the first work to be considered in terms of institutionalising Shiʿi thought and leading the Imāmiyya to a decisive victory over other Shiʿi sects. Again, Shaykh

fid, thk. Mir Jalaluddin Muhaddis Urmawi, Dāru al-Hadīs, Qom 1391/2012.

72 Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 13-14.

73 Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, I-VIII, thk. ʿAli Akbar al-Gaffārī, Dāru al-Kutubi al-Islāmiyya, Tehran 1407/1986.

Sadūq's *ʻUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*,[74] who spent most of his life in Ray and Qom, is one of the works we have benefited from the most in our study. What makes the work important is that Shaykh Ṣadūq shaped his work through the rāwīs found here as a result of his visits to Khorasan. It was possible to read the situation of Khorasan in terms of Shīʿa through this work and the narrations in it. Another important work of Shaykh Sadūq is *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma*.[75] This work, which is a collection of narrations about the ghaybāt and the absent Imām, which is a very important issue in terms of Shi'i thought, was written within the scope of Shaykh Sadūq's visits to Khorasan, including Nīshābur, Balkh and Tūs, in order to answer the questions of the Imāmi community here on these issues. Shaykh Sadūq's *Man lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh*[76] was written for similar purposes in line with the requests of the Imāmi community in Khorasan.

Contemporary Research

Given the focus of our study on primary sources, contemporary research was among the secondary sources we consulted. These studies proved instrumental in establishing the subject's framework, illuminating the intellectual underpinnings of Shīʿa, and offering a contextual perspective for our study.

Among the Persian sources, the first work we used is Rasul Jaʿfariyān's *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran, az Āghāz tā Qarn-e Haftom-e Hijrī*, [77] which is a voluminous treatise and claims to

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[74] Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Bābawayh al-Qommī Shaykh Sadūq, *ʻUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I-II, Intishārāt al-Nubūg, Qom 1390/2011.

[75] Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Bābawayh al-Qommī Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʻma*, I-II, thk. and tsh. ʿAliAkbar Ghaffārī, Dāru al-Hadīs, Qom 1387/2008.

[76] Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Bābawayh al-Qommī Shaykh Sadūq, *Man lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh*, I-VI, 2nd edition, thk. and tr. by Muhammad Javād Ghaffārī, Dāru al-Kutubi al-Islāmiyya, Tehran 1387/2008.

[77] Rasul Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran, ez Āghāz tā Karn-e Heftom-e Hijrī*,

present the historical course of the Shiʿi-Imāmi community in Khorasan from its inception to the Safawid period in all its aspects. Firstly, the work aims to define Shiʿism by classifying it as 'political, spiritual and theological' in a long introduction, and then the entry of Shiʿism into Khorasan and its development processes are discussed. For this reason, his impartiality is compromised by the fact that he adopts an Imāmiyya-centred perspective on all events in the era of the Prophet, the four caliphs and ʿAli. Naturally, the author devoted less space to the activities of Ismā'īliyya, Zaydiyya and Ghulāt. Although the fact that it deals with the period up to the Safawids leads to anachronism, it is a valuable work that is cited as a source in scholarly circles in contemporary Iran.

The only study we could find devoted to Khorasan Shiʿism independently is Seyyed Hasan Ahmadinejad's master's thesis titled *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Khorasan-e Bozorg*.[78] However, when we analysed the thesis, it was understood that it was a study based on contemporary research on the city of Marw rather than the whole Khorasan. Again, although it is titled Shiʿism in Khorasan, there is a book titled *Tashayyuʿ dar Khorasan: dar Ahd-i Timuriyyān*,[79] which covers the Timurid period and is not considered noteworthy for our study.

Another study directly related to our subject is the doctoral thesis titled *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Nīshābūr az Āghāz tā Hamle-e Mongol* prepared by Muhammad Dashtī.[80] Although the fact that

Ilm Neshriyat, Tehran 1390/2011.

78 Seyyed Hasen Ahmadinejad, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Khorasan-e Bozorg*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Madrasa-i Āli-yi Fiqh wa Meārif-i Islāmī, Qom 1382/2003.

79 ʿAbd al-Majīd Nāṣirī Dāwūdī, *Tashayyuʿ dar Khorasan: Ahd-i Tamuriyyan*, Mashhad 1378/1999.

80 Muhammad Dashtī, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Nīshābūr az Āghāz tā Hamle-e Mongol*, (Unpublished PhD Dissertation), Müessasa-yi Āmūzishī wa Pejuhishī-yi Imām Khomeini, Qom trz.

the subject of the thesis is about the city of Nīshābur, which is also a part of our study, aroused our excitement, unfortunately, we could not find the traces of a scientific perspective in the study. The author looked at history through the eyes of Imāmiyya, and for this reason, even the existence of a neighbourhood called 'Husayniyya' in the city could be attributed to Shiʿism.

It is worth mentioning here that we have not been able to benefit sufficiently from the books on the history of Shīʿa published in Iran. Especially in the works published after the 1979 Iranian revolution, the deficiencies such as the forced interpretations about the origin of Shīʿa's presence in Iran and the incompatibility of the titles of the books with the subject matter in them have both lost us time and disappointed us in terms of scholarship. Among such works, Ahmad Mashkūt Kermānī's *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Irān* [81] can be mentioned. Published in 1979, the same year as the Iranian revolution, the book is a voluminous work of approximately 1000 pages. However, although its title is 'History of Shiʿism in Iran', it mostly deals with the emergence of Shiʿism, the period of the four caliphs, Karbalā, etc., which have emotional intensity. The work, which has more of an emotional point of view due to the atmosphere brought by the Iranian revolution, is completely devoid of scientific language. Similarly, Abdolhay Habībī, *Tārīkh-e Afghānistan baʿd az Islām* [82] can be shown as an example of books with this style.

There are also useful books that focus on the cities of Khorasan. Among these, the two-volume work, *Tārīkh-e Ulamā-ye Balkh*,[83] co-authored by Maḥdī Rahmanī Walawī-Mansur Jaʿtanī,

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[81] Ahmad Mashkūt Kermānī, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Irān*, Tehran 1358/1979.

[82] Abdolhay Habībī, *Tārīkh-e Afghānistan baʿd az Islām*, 2nd edition, Donya-ye Ketāb, Tehran 1363/1984.

[83] Maḥdī Rahmanī Walawī-Mansur Ja'tanī, *Tārīkh-e 'Ulamā-ye Balkh*, I-II, Bonyad-i Pejūhishhā-ye Islamî, Mashhad 1383/2004.

is among the sources that we have benefited from a lot because it gathers all the people, and their works related to the city of Balkh. Again, Husayn Karīman's two-volume work entitled *Ray-i Bāstān*[84] is the most important contemporary work on the history of Ray. In this work, Karīman has dealt with the city of Ray in a holistic approach with its religious, political, social and economic aspects in the historical process since its ancient times. In addition, Māsumah Musgharī's master's study *Awzā-e Coghrafyāyī, Iqtisādī, Siyāsī, İjtimāī ve Farhangī-ye Gorgān az Āghāz-e Islām ta Hamla-e Mongol*[85] is among the works focusing on the city of Jurjān.

From Arabic sources, Nāji Marūf's *'Urūbat al-Mansūbīn ilā al-Buldān al-Aʿjamiyya fī Khorasan*[86] and Muhammad al-Fājālū's *al-Hayāt al-Ilmiyya fī Nīsābūr*[87] are among the works we used.

Among the first works we looked at in English was Wilferd Madelung's *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*,[88] a collection of essays that helped to explain the sectarian background of Iran. Teresa Bernheimer's doctoral dissertation, *A Social History of the Alid Family from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century*,[89] and Tamima Bayhom-Daou's doctoral dissertation, *The Imāmi Shiʿi Conception of the Knowledge of the Imām and the Sources of Religious Doctrine in the Formative Period: from Hishām b. al-Hakam*

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84 Husayn Karīman, *Ray-i Bāstān*, I-II, 2nd edition, Intishārāt-ı Dânishgāh-ı Shahīd Beheshti, Tehran 1371/1992.

85 Mā'sumeh Musgarī, *Awzā-e Coghrafyayī, Iqtisādī, Siyasi, Ijtimāī wa Farhangī-ye Gorgān az Āghāz-i Islām ta Hamle-i Mongol*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Danishgāh-i Āzād-i Islāmī, Tehran 1376/1997.

86 Nāji Marūf, *'Urūbat al-Mansūbīn ilā al-Buldān al-A'jamiyya fi Khorasan*, I-II, Baghdād 1977.

87 Muhammad al-Fājālū, *al-Hayātu al-Ilmiyya fi Nīsābūr Khilāli al-Faṭrāt 290-548 (901-1153),* Jāmiatu Ummi'l-Qurā, Makkah 1431/2010.

88 Wilferd Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, New York 1988.

89 Teresa Bernheimer, *A Social History of the 'ʿAlid Family from the Eight to the Eleventh Century,* (Unpublished PhD Thesis), Oxford University, 2006.

(d.179 A.H.) to Kulini (d. 329 A.H.),[90] were useful for our study. In addition, Stern's comprehensive article 'The Early Ismā'īlī Missionaries in Northwest Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania',[91] which successfully deals with the early history of Ismā'īlism in Iran and Khorasan within a process approach, is the most important source for the section on Ismaʿili activities.

Since there is no Turkish study on the subject of our research, some studies have been consulted in order to obtain general information about Shiʿism and to comprehend the structure of the period. Among these, Metin Bozan's *İmamiyye'nin İmamet Nazariyesi'nin Teşekkül Süreci*[92] (The Formation Process of Imāmiyya's Imāmate Theory), Cemil Hakyemez's *Şia'da Gaybet İnancı ve Gâib On İkinci İmam*[93] (The Belief of Ghaybah in Shīʿa and the Twelfth Imām who was absent), Mehmet Ali Büyükkara's *Ehl-i Beyt ve Ehl-i Devlet, Musa Kazım ile Ali Rıza Dönemi Şiiliği ve Abbasîler*[94] (Ahl al-Bayt and Ahl al-State) and the *İmamet Mücadelesi ve Haşimoğulları*[95] (Struggle for Imāmate and the Hashimids) are among the first works to be mentioned.

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[90] Tamima Bayhom-Daou, *The Imām Shi'i Conception of the Knowledge of the Imām and the Sources of Religious Doctrine in the Formative Period: from Hisham ibn al-Hakam (d.179 AH) to Kulini (ibn 329 AH)*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis), University of London (SOAS), London 1996.

[91] S. M. Stern, "The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries in North West Persia and in Khurasân and Transoxania", *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlīsm*, Jerusalem 1983.

[92] Metin Bozan, *İmamiyye'nin İmamet Nazariyesi'nin Teşekkül Süreci, İSAM yay., İstanbul 2009*.

[93] Cemil Hakyemez, *Şia'da Gaybet İnancı ve Gâib On İkinci İmam*, İSAM yay., İstanbul 2008.

[94] Mehmet Ali Büyükkara, *Ehl-i Beyt ve Ehl-i Devlet, Musa Kazım ile Ali Rıza Dönemi Şiiliği ve Abbasîler*, Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Vakfı yay., İstanbul 2010.

[95] Mehmet Ali Büyükkara, *İmamet Mücadelesi ve Haşimoğulları (Hicri II. Asır)*, Rağbet Yay., İstanbul 1999.

Method and Conceptual Framework of the Research

Every branch of science has a method that distinguishes it from other branches of science and makes it an independent discipline. The difference between the History of Islamic Sects and other similar branches of science comes from the difference in its method. Studies to be conducted in the field of History of Islamic Sects, which has its own methodology, should also be in accordance with this.

The History of Islamic Sects is defined as a branch of science that examines the course of development of the schools of thought that have emerged in Islamic societies in the past and present for political and theological purposes within the framework of ideas, events, time and space. [96] The studies to be conducted in this field should take into account all the factors of idea, person, place and time and analyse the subject without detaching it from its context. Since doctoral theses mostly examine a limited and narrow subject in depth, it is dangerous to study a geography with very wide borders such as Khorasan in terms of generalisation and reductionism. Because sects contain the traces of the geographies and sociological grounds to which they belong, the sectarian mobility experienced in each geography will bear different traces from each other.[97]

All concepts reflect the traces of the time period in which they are used. A concept that has one meaning in one period may transform and develop in the next period and take on a completely different form from its first meaning. Therefore, it is necessary to reveal the meanings of the concepts in the period

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[96] Hasan Onat, *Emeviler Devri Şii Hareketleri ve Günümüz Şiiliği*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yay., Ankara 1993, 2-3; Sönmez Kutlu, *Mezhepler Tarihine Giriş*, Değerler Eğitimi Yay, İstanbul 2008, 10-11.

[97] Mehmet Kalaycı, "Mezhepleri veya Dinî Hareketleri Tamamlan(ma)mış Kimliksel Süreçler Olarak Okumak", *Kuran ve Toplumsal Bütünleşme (Mezhepler ve Dinî Gruplar Arası İlişkiler)*, Bursa 2015, 233.

in which they were used and the shifts in meaning and ground they undergo in the process. As a matter of fact, Onat considers the problem of 'the reliability of concepts' as one of the most fundamental problems of the History of Islamic Thought. He emphasises that it is sometimes overlooked how the concepts that have a social dimension, the names given to sects, groups and communities have undergone changes in meaning and how they have been used arbitrarily in the historical flow, and the biggest reason for this is that the logic of 'process' is not very prominent. He emphasised the concept of 'process' in understanding the concepts by saying, 'Paying attention to the concepts in all fields that we call Islamic Sciences will make it easier to understand the historical course of Islamic Thought and will also enable the contribution of Muslims to the world of science to be revealed.[98]

The use of concepts in the History of Islamic Sects requires great care. Because "taking our criterion from the time period we are interested in, discovering the terminology of that time period and constructing the study with those concepts is the right thing to do."[99]

In order to conduct research in the History of Islamic Sects, it is a necessity to use the 'Descriptive Method'. This method means showing the events as they are, that is, in a sense, taking a photograph of the event or phenomenon in the relevant period of history. Transferring the events as they are without abstracting them from the time period in which they occurred is the basic condition of working in this field.[100] The prereq-

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98 Hasan Onat, "Bilgi, Bilim ve Yöntem", *İslam Bilimlerinde Yöntem*, İlitam yay., Ankara 2005, 20.

99 Hasan Onat, "İslam Bilimleri ve Yöntemi Açısından Tarihin Anlam ve Önemi", *Kuran ve İslami İlimlerin Anlaşılmasında Tarihin Önemi*, Ankara Okulu Yay., Ankara 2013, 58.

100 Mehmet Ali Büyükkara, "Bir Bilim D'AliOlarak İslam Mezhebleri Tarihi ile İl-

uisite for a healthy study is to follow the scientific method as formulated by Kutlu: "It is to reveal when, under what conditions, where ideas emerged and where they were adopted by whom with an impartial eye and in line with the principles of scientific research."[101]

One of the difficulties encountered in the History of Islamic Sects is the problem of 'reliability of sources'. Because all sources contain deep traces of the period in which they were written and the world view of the person who wrote them. First of all, the belonging of the source to the period in question and the accuracy of the information it provides should be determined by the method of historical criticism and it should be aimed to reach healthy information.[102] In subsequent studies, when information is given about a sect/person/idea, it is extremely important to find out in which source this information first appeared and how.[103] Then, whether the information in question is consistent with historical narrations should be examined and problems related to sources should be tried to be minimized. In our study, we tried to keep the earliest sources we could identify in mind.

When it comes to Shiʿism, works that contain quite opposing interpretations have been written throughout history, also due to the influence of [104] sectarian fanaticism. Before using any work in our study, we have to take into consideration the period and socio-economic conditions of the author, as re-

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gili Metodolojik Problemler", *İslami İlimlerde Metodoloji (Usûl) Meselesi*, Ensar Neşriyat, İstanbul 2005, 445-458.

[101] Sönmez Kutlu, *Türklerin İslamlaşma Sürecinde Mürcie ve Tesirleri*, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, Ankara 2000, 27.

[102] Kutlu, *Mezhepler Tarihine Giriş*, 121-123.

[103] Sönmez Kutlu, "İslam Mezhebleri Tarihinde Usûl Sorunu", *İslami İlimlerde Metodoloji (Usûl) Meselesi*, Ensar Neşriyat, İstanbul 2005, I/433

[104] For detailed information on this subject, see Ahmet İshak Demir, *Klasik Dönem Mezhepler Tarihi Kaynaklarının Objektifliği (İmâmiyye Şîası Örneği),* Rize 2011.

quired by the "deepening into the person" method. Because sometimes emotionality, sectarian identity, prejudice, preconception and a biased approach can come to the fore in the evaluations made. We are of the opinion that the authenticity of the narrations belonging to the Shiʿi hadith tradition, which we frequently refer to in our study, according to the science of hadith methodology is not of much importance in the history of sects. What is important is to deal with the narrations as they appear in the sources and to take a picture of how a narration is perceived by its interlocutors before its authenticity. Even if it is not authentic, any material that has played a role in the intellectual development of the sect for centuries is important for us. In this context, *manāqib* narrations, which have an important role in the construction of the social mind, are also included in our study.

In order to determine the sectarian manifestations in a city, we first tried to determine how and by what means Shiʿism entered that city. Then we determined the chronological place of this city in the history of Shiʿism. We gave information about the tribes or families who settled in this city and were important in terms of Shi'i thought. After explaining the important places of the city, if any, in terms of Shiʿism, we tried to determine which narrations, if any, are related to the city we examined in Shiʿi literature. Finally, we tried to introduce the important people in this city chronologically with their works.

Since our study aims to trace Shiʿism in a certain region, we have to explain what we mean by this concept. Shiʿism is understood as the common name of the groups that claim that the religious and political leadership of the ummah after the Prophet passed to ʿAli b. Abī Talib by divine decree and appointment, and that the Imāmate will continue in the lineage

of ʿAli or the Hashemites until the end of humanity.[105] However, Shiʿism needs different definitions in different periods. In this context, in the early periods of the Umayyads and Abbasids, Shiʿism was a political cluster formed around the sons of Hashim, who had always had the potential to be an alternative to the government, in order to live a happier and more prosperous life for those who had benefited relatively less from the blessings of power and felt themselves socially and economically obliged to a class struggle for existence. In this context, although the lineage of ʿAli always had a preferred priority, the person accepted as the Imām could be any member of the Prophet's lineage under the discourse of 'al-Ridā min Āl-i Muhammad'. This person could be Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, the son of ʿAli, or Abdullah b. Muawiya, who was not a descendant of ʿAli. Therefore, it is possible to call the first Shiʿite movements as a unity of opposition united around the sons of Hashim until the end of the Umayyad rule. The opposition group, who thought that they had achieved their goals with the fall of the Umayyads and their replacement by the Abbasids from the sons of Hashim, started a new struggle around the name of the Alid and the sons of Abbas after the murder of Abū Salama and Abū Muslim by the government.

The nomenclature of Shiʿism in its nascent stages has been a subject of considerable debate. It is evident that the period under discussion, specifically the first two centuries, differs from the Shiʿism of the late third century, which had developed a comprehensive system of belief and had evolved into a distinct sect. Consequently, perceiving Shiʿism as a sect that emerged abruptly in the 3rd/9th century would, in my estimation, sig-

[105] Onat, *Emeviler Devri Şii Hareketleri*, 15; Hasan Onat, "Şiiliğin Doğuşu, İlk Şiî Fikirler ve İlk Şiî Hareketler", *İslam Mezhepleri Tarihi (El Kitabı)*, 3. Baskı, Grafiker Yay., Ankara 2014, 160.

nify an oversight concerning the evolution of sects into schools of thought. These schools of thought have undergone a formation process, incorporating diverse ideas throughout the historical period. In this regard, Kalaycı's observation regarding sects as "incomplete formations" is particularly relevant.[106] In this sense, it is imperative to consider this period, which can also be evaluated as "the first Shiʿism" in Watt's words, within the scope of the formation process of Shiʿism.

As seen in all other sects, the strengthening of sects in Khorasan was only possible through the relations they developed with the help of the state. We see that local dynasties/states, knowing that independent policies from the central Abbasid dynasty could only be carried out with the support of local religious authorities, established close relations with the ulema in this context and benefited greatly from them in maintaining and continuing their legitimacy. Therefore, the emergence of religious education centers called hangah or madrasah, especially in Khorasan, must not be a coincidence. While these institutions became relatively independent sectarian education centers on the one hand, they were also supported as a means of eliminating organizations/sects that opposed official authority. In this context, the Shīʿa in Khorasan except for the Buyid period, the deprivation of the support of political authority did not allow the sect to grow and develop, and the few talented people in the region were forced to migrate to sectarian ghettos established in and around Baghdād.

Here, when the early periods of Shiʿism are mentioned by Shīʿite writers, it is necessary to mention the claim that the love and affection towards the Ahl al-Bayt that emerged in society

[106] Mehmet Kalaycı, *Tarihsel Süreçte Eş'arîlik-Maturidilik İlişkisi*, Ankara Okulu Yay., Ankara 2013, 54-55.

is a special form of Shiʿism.[107] This is not an easy matter to accept. It is beyond the bounds of justice that the love of Muslims as a whole for the Prophet's progeny, which is the common value of this religion, should be confined to a particular sect. As a matter of fact, the Ahl al-Bayt supportership that emerged in the first century resembles an anti-authoritarian coalition that emerged because of the oppression of various segments of society, especially by the Umayyads. In this sense, being a follower of Ahl al-Bayt in the first two centuries meant, to some extent, separating oneself politically from the Umayyads. The Shīʿites, who do not read (or could not) this fact in the historical process and wanted to construct a history for themselves from the early centuries, identified being a supporter of the Ahl al-Bayt with Shiʿism. It must have been realised that there was a dilemma in this regard, because in the modern period, the need to classify Shiʿism as political, sentimental and theological Shiʿism was felt.[108]

Geographical Location of Khorasan (Old Iran) Region

Since our study covers the first four centuries, we see that the word Khorasan was used to express the region instead of Iran in this period. Khorasan was formed by the combination of the words 'Khor' (Sun) and 'Āsān' (place of birth) in Dari, an old dialect of Persian.[109] In this sense, the word Khorasan was expressed in the dictionaries as 'Mashriq (East)' in the sense

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[107] Hadi Sayyidwaqīlī, *Barrasī Coghrafya-ye Gostarish-e Tashayyuʿ*, Maktab-e Sadeq, Tehran 1389/2010, 52; For an evaluation of how the concept of Ahl al-Bayt is abūsed by the Shīʿites, see Sönmez Kutlu, "Ehl-i Beyt Sembolik Kapitalinin Tarihî Süreç İçinde Semerelendirilmesi", *İslamiyat*, III (2000), ss. 99-120.

[108] This classification within Shiʿism itself began with Muhammad Bāqir al-Sadr's work *Nash'at al-Tashayyuʿ*, and in Iran, Rasul Jaʿfariyān published a work detailing this classification. (See Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 22-77.)

[109] Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*, II/350; Abū al-Fidā, *Taqvīmu al-Buldān*, 441.

of 'the place where the sun rises'.[110] In early Islamic sources, Khorasan is sometimes referred to as a city, [111] sometimes as a country[112] and sometimes as a country. [113] These forms of expression show that Khorasan was a region whose borders, cities and geographical features were not yet fully defined in the minds of early geographers. One of the reasons for this is that the region was probably geographically and politically evaluated in different statuses.

The name Khorasan is first encountered in the administrative organisation of the Sasanian period (226-651 AD). The Sasanian territories consisted of four regions, namely Khorasan, Maghrib, Nīmruz and Azarbaijan. [114] According to Ibn Khurdadbih, each of these regions was ruled by local leaders called 'Sepāhbad'. Each Sepāhbad was entitled to a kind of autonomous administration in his own territory, and he appointed administrators to the cities of the region he ruled. The Sepāhbad of Khorasan divided his territory into four parts, the first of which was Marw al-Shahjān, the second of which was Balkh and Tohāristān, the third of which was Transoxania, and the fourth of which was

[110] Muhammad Mouin, *Farhang-e Mouin*, 27th edition, Amīr Kebīr, Tehran 1391/2012, I/1405; There are different views on the meaning of these words. According to some sources, Khorasan means "Eat with pleasure!", which is also reminiscent of today's Persian word meaning. However, it has been stated that this view is not acceptable. (See Abū Saʿd 'Abd al-Karīm Muhammad ibn Mansur al-Tamīmī al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, I-XII, thk. Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Yahyā al-Muallimi al-Yamānī, Cairo 1400/1980, V/67); According to Ibn al-Faqīh, Khorasan and Heytāl were the two children of Ālem ibn Sam ibn Noah. Each of them moved towards a different region. The place where Heytal went was called Hayātıla, and the place where the other went was called Khorasan. (See *al-Buldān*, 601.)

[111] Zakarīyah ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmud al-Qazwīnī, *Āsār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-ʿIbād*, tr. Mirza Jahangir, Amir Kebir, Tehran 1373/1994, 426.

[112] Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al- Buldān*, II/350; al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, V/67.

[113] Hamdullah ibn Abī Bakr al-Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, thk. G.L. Strange, Donya-ye Ketāb, Tehran 1362/1983, 181.

[114] Abū Said Abd al-Hayy b. Dahhāq b. Mahmūd Gardīzī, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, Intishārāt-e Danishgāh-e Tehrān, Tehran 1384/2005, 156.

Herāt, Pūsheng and Badghīs, and left each of them under the administration of people called 'Marzūbān'.[115] Based on this information, it is understood that Khorasan was the name given to a wide geography extending from the Caspian Sea in the north to the Pamir and Hindu Kush Mountains in the south.

After the conquest of Khorasan by the Muslims, the name of the region was preserved, but various views were put forward by Islamic geographers regarding its borders. Al-Yaʿqūbī, the earliest surviving Islamic geographer, did not treat Khorasan as an independent region, but defined it under the name of 'Mashriq (East)',[116] covering all Islamic lands east of Baghdād. This categorisation of Khorasan was repeated with minor changes by early geographers such as al-Balāzūrī,[117] Ibn Khurdadbih,[118] Ibn Rustah[119] and Ibn Hawqal.[120] Based on the information provided by these sources, we can say that, as Bosworth points out, in the definitions of early geographers, Khorasan was used to refer to the farthest eastern lands starting from the capital of the Islamic state (i.e. Iraq) rather than a geographical region with defined borders. [121] This

[115] Ibn Khurdadbih, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 18; The same classification was also accepted by Gardīzī (See *Zayn al-Akhbār*, 156.)

[116] al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 71.

[117] al-Balāzūrī, divided the Khorasan lands into four parts: Iranshahr (Nīshābur, Kuhestān, Tabasayn, Herāt, Pushang, Badghis, Tūs), Marw al-Shahjan (Sarakhs, Nasa, Abiverd, Marwaruz, Talaqān, Khwarezm, Āmul), Bakhtar River (Faryāb, Juzjān, Upper Tokharistān, Hust, Andarāba, Bamyān, Bughlān, Vāliq) and Farārud (Bukhārā, Chach, Terarband, Sogd, that is, Kish and Nasef, Rubistan and Ushrusana, Sanam, Farghana, Samarkand). (See Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, 615) This classification is not included in the works of al-Balāzūrī that have survived to the present day.

[118] Ibn Khurdadbih, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 32.

[119] Ibn Rustah includes Khorasan in the region he calls Iranshahr. Accordingly, Iranshahr consists of the parts named Khorasan, Horberan, Nemruz, Bakhtar, and Surestan. (See *Kitāb al-ʿAʿlāq al-Nafisa*, 103.)

[120] Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb al-Sūrat al-ʿArz*, 326.

[121] C.E. Bosworth, "Khurasan", *EI²*, Leiden 1986, V/56.

usage is more in line with the meaning of Khorasan in contemporary Persian dictionaries. [122] Considering that the centre of the state during the Sasanian period was the territory of Iraq, this name was given to all the lands to the east of Iraq, including Transoxania and even the entire Iranian plateau. [123] The name Khorasan was continued by the Muslims after the conquest of the region. Since the Islamic state had just entered the process of institutionalisation, the governors of Basra were the ones who ruled Khorasan in the early periods. This governor was considered the ruler of all the lands to the east of Basra, and he appointed governors for Sijistan, Kermān and other regions. Khorasan was ruled by governors residing in Basra until it became an independent region with minor changes.

The reason for the disagreement on the borders of the region is probably that it was less important than Iraq, which formed the central part of the country in the early periods.[124] In later periods, when the region gained importance both politically and economically, it was felt necessary to define it in detail, and thus the borders of Khorasan became the name of the region starting from Ray (today's Tehran), extending to the Jayhun River in the north, the western parts of today's Afghanistan in the east, and to Dasht-e Kawir in the south.[125]

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[122] In fact, in contemporary Persian dictionaries, the meaning of the word Khorasan is given as "East" (Mashrik). (See, ʿAli Akbar Dehkhoda, *Lughatnāme*, Intishārāt-e Danishgāh-e Tehran, Tehran 1377/1998, VII/9634-35; Hasan Anwarî, *Farhang-i Fashorde-i Sohen*, I-II, Tehran 1382/2003, I/909.)

[123] Elton L. Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan under Abbasid Rule (747-820)*, Chicago 1979, 13-16.

[124] Sebahattin Samur, "İslam Coğrafyacılarına Göre Horasan; Yeri ve X. Yüzyıldaki Durumu", *Bilimnâme*, IX/3 (2005), 93.

[125] Author Unknown, *Hudūd al-ʿAlam min al-Mashrik ilā al-Maghrib*, 123; Kahtān Abd al-Sattār al-Ḥadīsī, *Irbāʿu Khorasan al-Shahīra, Dirāse fī Ahwālihā al-Coghrāfiyya wa al-Idāriyya wa al-Iktisādiyya hattā Nihāya al-Qarn al-Rābiʿ li al-Hijrah*, Matbūatu Dār al-Hikma, Basra 1990, 23-24; Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the East Ca-*

In conclusion, according to the geographers of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, Khorasan administratively consisted of four main provinces:[126] Nīshābur, Marw, Balkh and Herāt. Leaving aside the problem of the difficulty of delimiting the Khorasan region in the first four centuries of the Hijri period, which determines the historical boundary of our research, we have chosen to limit the region to the developments in some cities of Khorasan such as Qom, Ray, Nīshābūr, Bayhaq, Jurjān, Balkh, Tūs, Marw, and Herāt, where Shiʿism began to spread. For this reason, we will be content with giving general information about the geographical situation of each of these cities.

Qom: Located approximately 130 km south of Tehran, Qom is one of the cities that has had the greatest impact on the religious and social life of Khorasan, particularly in Shiʿism. In early geography works, Qom was listed among the cities of the Jibāl or Jabal region.[127] While al-Yaʿqūbī shows Qom in the eastern region,[128] al-Istakhrī and Ibn Hawqal mention that the Jabal region consisted of large cities such as Isfahan, Denawar, Hamadan and Qom.[129] Al-Maqdisī, on the other hand, has shown Qom as a town of the city of Ray in the region of Jibāl.[130]

Although there are different narrations about the name of the city of Qom, it is accepted that this name was born as a result of the Arabicisation of the Persian word "Qūmah" mean-

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liphate Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur, New York 1905, 382-383.

126 According to Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, the cities of Khorasan are Nīshābur, Balkh, Marw, Herāt, Talaqān, Nasa, Abūverd, Sarakhs. (See, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*, II/350-351); Abū al-Fidā, *Taqvīm al-Buldān*, 449-463.

127 Ibn Khordadbeh listed Māsabazan, Mihrijānquzak, Dīnavar, Nahawand, Hamadān and Qom as cities of the Jibāl region. (See *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 33); al-Qazwīnī, *Āsār al-Bilād*, 513.

128 al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 84.

129 al-Istakhrī, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 115; Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb al-Sūrat al-Arz*, 370.

130 al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 290.

ing the place where puddles gather.[131] It was turned into a city when Saʿd b. Mālik al-Ashʿarī's sons Ahwās, ʿAbdullah, ʿAbd al-Rahman, Nuʿaym and Ishaq, who belonged to the Yemeni origin Ashʿar tribe that supported the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Rahman b. al-Ashʿas during the reign of the Umayyad governor Hajjaj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714), fled from Kūfa and settled here. Later, the city was developed with other members of the tribe and different Arab tribes who migrated here. Qom, which was previously under the province of Isfahan, became an independent city during the reign of Harun al-Rashid (189/804).[132] Until the Safawid period, Qom had the appearance of a closed town, but in 925/1519 it became magnificent with the contributions of Shah Ismail's sister Shah Bagum.[133] Since it played an important role in the intellectual and political base of Khorasan Shiʿism, it was included in our study.

Ray: Located approximately 7-8 km southeast of Tehran, the capital of today's Iran, Ray is one of the oldest cities in the region. The fact that the historical Silk Road extending from Central Asia to Anatolia passes through this city and that it is also at the intersection of the roads leading from Mazandaran in the north to the south of Iran shows how important a location the city has.[134] The city, which was known as ''Māhjān'',

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[131] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 31; al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, X/228-229; Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān,* IV /397; Marcel Bazin, "Kum", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, 2002, XXVI/361-362. In addition, it is possible to find a series of narrations produced to give the city a spiritual character, from its connection with Noah's flood to the fact that the Prophet looked at the place where the city was during his ascension and saw the devil and said to him, "Qom! (Rise!) Cursed one, this is pure land." For other narrations, see Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom,* 132-146.

[132] AKS Lambton, "Qom: The Evolution of a Mediavel City", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* 2 (1990), 324.

[133] Moojen Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam, The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shiʿism*, Yale University Press, London 1985, 41.

[134] Osman Gazi Özgüdenli, "Rey", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstan-

''Rāmfīrūz'', ''Ray-Ardashir'' during the Sasanian period, was the scene of several attempts of conquest by the Arab-Islamic armies following the Battle of Nahawand (21/642). The name of the city, which was not heard much until the Sinbād rebellion in the early years of the Abbasids (135/753), gained importance after it was rebuilt by Muhammad al-Mahdī, one of the Abbasid caliphs, in 140/758.[135] The new city he built next to the ancient city of Ray was called "Muhammadiyya", but the name Muhammadiyya did not become popular in later periods because it expanded to include the city of Ray. Praised by Islamic geographers and shown as the largest and most prosperous city in the east after Nīshābur,[136] Ray became famous for its wide streets, abundant water, clean air,[137] profitable trade, large libraries and madrasahs.

Nīshābur: Known as Abrshahr or Iranshahr before Islam and in the early Islamic periods, Nīshābur (Arabic: Neysabūr or Nīsabūr) is located southeast of the Caspian Sea. The name of the city is thought to be related to the Sassanid rulers Shapur I (3rd century) or Shapur II (4th century).[138] Considered the most important city of Khorasan after Marw during the Sassanid and early Islamic periods, Nīshābur became prosperous after becoming the capital of the Tahirid Dynasty in the 3rd/9th century, especially during the time of Abdullah b. Tahir (830-

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bul 2008, XXXV/40-41.

[135] al-Balāzūrī, *Futûhu'l-Büldân*, trans. Mustafa Fayda, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 2002.

, 458; V. Minorsky, "al-Rayy", *EI²*, Leiden 1995, VIII/471.

[136] al-Istakhrī, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 122; el- Istakhrī includes the city of Ray in the Daylem region. However, it is shown as a single climate with Khorasan. (See *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 145.)

[137] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 290.

[138] Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Mu'jam al-Buldān*, V/331; E. Honigman, "Nīshābur", *EI²*, Leiden 1995, VIII /62; Osman Gazi Özgüdenli, "Nîşâbûr", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 2007, XXXIII/149-151.

842).[139] During the Samanid period, it became a center of art, science and trade. Until the Mongol invasion, it attracted attention as one of the centers of attraction of the Islamic world in every respect.

Bayhaq: It is one of the largest districts of Nīshābur.[140] It was conquered in 30/650 by Adham ibn Kulthum, one of the commanders of Abdullah ibn Āmir, the governor of Basra of ʿUthman.[141] Bayhaq district was named Sabzevar after merging with the nearby Hosrevgerd and Sabzevar and is known by this name today. Although it is a small town and is usually mentioned together with Nīshābur, it will be mentioned as a separate city in this study since it is one of the places where Shiʿism is represented in Khorasan geography.

Jurjān: It is a historical city located along the southeastern coast of the Caspian Sea. In the early centuries of Islam, some included Jurjān in the Khorasan region, while others included it in the Tabaristan region.[142] After the Mongol invasion, this city was administratively included in the Mazandaran region.[143] It is a very strategic city connecting Khorasan and Tabaristan. Jurjān evolved from the Persian Gorgan. It is said that this city took its name from its founder, Gorgin ibn Milad.[144] The city was conquered during the caliphate of ʿUthman; however, it was later reconquered by Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab during the

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[139] al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 95-97; W, Barthold, "Horasan", çev. İsmail Aka, *Atatürk Üniv. Edb. Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi*, 8 (Ankara 1978), 60-61.

[140] Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*, I/537-538.

[141] al-Balāzūrī, *Futûhu'l-Büldân*, 586.

[142] Ishaq b. al-Husayn Munajjim, *Ākām al-Marjān fī Zikr al-Madāin al-Mashhūra fī Kulli Makān,* thk. Fahmi Saʿd, Beirut 1408/1988, 70; Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al- Buldān*, II/119.

[143] Qazwīnī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 159; Le Strange, *The Lands of Eastern Caliphate,* 376.

[144] Muhammed ibn al-Hasan Ibn Isfandiyar, *An Abridged Translation of The History of Tabaristan*, thk. Edward G. Brown, London 1905, 28.

caliphate of Sulayman ibn Abdelmalik due to the claim that they had apostatized.[145] The city, which was largely destroyed during the Mongol invasion, was united with Esterabad in the same region, and in later periods, the name Gorgan was used instead of this city.[146]

Balkh: There are different opinions about the name of Balkh, located south of the Amu Darya, in the north of Afghanistan. Its name comes from ancient Persian Bahtrish in Avesta Bahdi (Bahdri) and in Greek It is said to have taken its name from Baktras, which was mentioned as Baktra.[147] According to the narration of al-Yaʿqūbī, it was the largest city of Khorasan with its 12 gates in the 3rd/9th century.[148] The city was conquered by Qays b. Haysam al-Sulamī[149] or ʿAbdurrahman b. Samura during the period of Muawiya b. Abī Sufyan.[150] It is stated that it is the oldest center of the Sassanid state organization that we know of.[151] It was famous for its temple called Nawbahar and was known as the hometown of the Barmaq family. The city, which was not well known in the early Abbasid period, reached its real glory in the Samanid period. It was known by geographers as "umm al-bilād" and "bahiyyah" and became famous as a center of Sufism and jurisprudence in the early centuries of Islam. The ancient city, which also included Kabul and Ghazna, The ruins of the city of Balkh are located on the outskirts

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[145] al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 92.

[146] Tahsin Yazıcı, "Esterabad", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1995, XI/437.

[147] Tahsin Yazıcı, "Belh", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1992, V/410-411.

[148] He states that it was divided into two parts: Juzjān and Tokharistān. (See al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 116-118.)

[149] al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān, 116*; Ibn Rustah, *Kitāb al-ʿAʿlāq al-Nafisa,* 103.

[150] al-Balāzūrī, *Futûhu'l-Büldân*, 594.

[151] Shahab al-Dīn ʿAbdullah Khāfī Hāfız-e Abrū, *Coghrafya-ye Tārīkh-e Khorasan dar Tārīkh-e Khāfız Abrû*, tsh. and tlk. Ghulamrıza Verherām, Intishārāt-ı Ittilāât, Tehran 1370/1991, 42.

of the city of Mazar Sharif, which is within the borders of Afghanistan today.

Tūs: It is a historical city formed by the union of two towns called Taberan and Nuqan, located northeast of Nīshābur.[152] Its establishment dates back to before the Sassanid period. The fact that the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid and the Shīʿi Imām ʿAli al-Ridā were buried in this city increased the importance of the city. al-Yaʿqūbī reported that the majority of the city was of Persian origin, however, there were also Arabs of the Tayy tribe in the city.[153]After the Mongol invasion, the city grew around the shrine of ʿAli al-Ridā in the village of Sanābād in the Nuqan town and took the name Mashhad, while the historical city of Tūs was abandoned.[154]

As a result, the geographical borders of Khorasan, which has a long history, are controversial among geographers. The reason for this is that its borders sometimes narrowed due to political, social or economic reasons and this situation continued after the advent of Islam. Islamic conquests and political fragmentation naturally resulted in the change of Khorasan's borders.

Religions Before Islam in Khorasan

Khorasan hosted many religions and religious movements before Islam. These beliefs,[155] which have taken their place in the memory of the society and shaped their lifestyle, have been effective in the formation and adoption of the Shīʿi theology of Imāmate, Mahdī, raj'at and badā.[156] In this context, it would be

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[152] Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān,* IV/49-50.

[153] al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 93.

[154] Mustafa Öz, "Meşhed", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 2004, XXIX/363.

[155] For the social manifestations of Iran's religious background, see Nimet Yıldırım, *İran Mitolojisi,* Pinhan yay., İstanbul 2012, 90-106.

[156] Fatih Topaloğlu, *Şia'nın Oluşumunda İran Kültürünün Etkisi,* (Unpublished PhD

appropriate to give brief information about the religious movements that existed in the region.

The oldest religion seen in the Khorasan region and at the same time the religion that has affected the general structure of the region the most is undoubtedly Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrianism is formed by the combination of beliefs and thoughts containing a monotheistic understanding preached by Zoroaster with ancient Iranian beliefs and traditions.[157] However, in addition to being a religion in its own right, Zoroastrianism is also used as an umbrella term to express the whole of religious understandings that include ancient Iranian traditions and customs that have undergone various theological transformations since the teachings of Zoroaster, parallel to the use of Islamic literature.[158] In this study, Zoroastrianism is preferred to express Iranian national religions named as Zoroastrianism, Mazdaism, Parsi.

Zoroastrianism can be examined in two periods in terms of religious structure: the period when Zoroaster lived and the period after Zoroaster. It is seen that there was a polytheistic structure in Iran before Zoroaster. In this period, there was the god of time Zurvan, his sons Ahura Mazda and Ahriman, and the savior god Mitra. In addition, there were secondary divine beings called Devas with good character and Asuras with bad character. Zoroaster reinterpreted the existing religious understanding of his society in a monotheistic direction, saying that Ahura Mazda was the only god and that he received revelations from him, and depicted all other beings as his attributes,

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Thesis), Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi, İzmir 2010, 118-176.

[157] Şinasi Gündüz, "Mecûsilik", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 2003, XXVIII/279.

[158] Mehmet Alıcı, *Kadim İran'da Din; Monoteizm'den Düalizme Mecûsi Tanrı Anlayışı*, Ayışığı kitapları, İstanbul 2012, 14; Karîman, *Ray-i Bāstān*, II/8.

angels or demons. After Zoroaster's death, his teachings shifted back to polytheism, and the evil called Ahriman was deified along with Ahura Mazda, thus taking on a dualistic religious structure.[159]

Zoroaster, who is also considered a prophet by some because of his advocacy of monotheism in the Gathas, where his views are included, had the opportunity to spread his teachings during the reign of King Vistaspa, who ruled the Khorasan region in the 6th century BC.[160] Zoroastrianism, which was accepted as the official religion of the state during the Sassanid period, became the most widespread belief in the Khorasan region with its various forms. Zoroastrianism, which is thought to have first been formed in cities such as Balkh and Marw in Khorasan, found the opportunity to spread to other regions of Iran from there.[161]

In the years when Islam reached Khorasan, there were many fire temples (atasgadah) in the region.[162] The most well-known of these were in the cities of Tūs, Bukhara, Zuzan, and Sogd.[163] Those of the Zoroastrians who did not accept Islam and were allowed to practice their religion in return for the jizya payment lived in Khorasan for a while longer. With the exception of a few Zoroastrians who were appointed to government positions, the pressures on them increased significantly, especially during the period of the local emirates governing the region. The

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[159] Şinasi Gündüz, *Din ve İnanç Sözlüğü,* Vadi yay., Ankara 1998, 252.

[160] Gündüz, "Mecûsilik", 279.

[161] M. Jalal al-Dīn Ashtiyānī, *Zertosht, Mazdayasna and Hukumat*, Tehran 1381/2002, 308-309.

[162] Fire Temple is the name given to a special structure or open area where Zoroastrians worship and where a sacred fire burns. (See Gündüz, *Din ve İnanç Sözlüğü,* 47.)

[163] Ghulam Husayn al-Sādiqī, *Jonbishhā-ye Dīnī-ye Irānī dar Qarnhā-yı Dovvom ve Sevvom*, Tehran 1372/1993 (Les Mouvements Religieux Iraniens au Ile et Ille Siecle de I'Hegire, Paris 1938), 105-106.

predominant proportion of the Zoroastrian population in the region migrated to the southern regions of Iran, such as Faris and Yazd. From these locales, further dispersion occurred, primarily to the Arabian Peninsula, with notable populations settling in Bahrain and Yemen.[164]

Most of the Zoroastrians adopted Islam from their first contact with it. These people, who had no oppositional tendencies, tended more towards sects and religious movements that were accepted and supported by the official government. For this reason, they supported Sunnī movements instead of oppositional sects such as Shiʿism.[165] Apart from this, it is known that Zoroastrianism influenced Greek thought, Judaism, Christianity and Buddhism; various groups with esoteric thought such as the Qarāmitas and the Assassins, and Bahaism; with a significant number of its representatives migrating to India, it also influenced Hinduism and British Protestantism.[166] However, in addition to these, Zoroastrianism maintained its influence, especially in the Fars region of Iran, and has continued its existence to the present day, although it is few in number.

One of the religions that had the greatest religious and intellectual impact on Khorasan was Manichaeism, founded by Mani in the third century A.D., which had a gnostic character and reflected the beliefs of various religions in an eclectic way.[167] As a result of the support given to Mani's teachings during the reign of the Sassanid king Shapur I, Manichaeism, which had the opportunity to spread in various regions, especially in Iran,

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[164] Mary Boyce, *Zertostiyān Bāverhā va Adāb-e Dīnī-yi Anhā*, trans. Asker Bahrāmī, Tehran 1381/2002, 189.

[165] İrfân Abdülhamid, *İslam'da İtikadi Mezhepler ve Akâid Esasları*, çev. M. Saim Yeprem, TDV yay., Ankara 2011, 33; Ali Avcu, *Horasan-Maveraünnehir'de İsmaililik, Asitan yay., Ankara 2014*, 66.

[166] Topaloğlu, *Şia'nın Oluşumunda İran Kültürünün Etkisi*, 72.

[167] Yıldırım, *İran Mitolojisi*, 147-153.

ended as a result of the intense suppression campaigns launched against this movement under the leadership of the Zoroastrian chief priest Kardir. Mani, who was captured and thrown into prison, was killed in 276. Some of the Manichaeans, who were subjected to serious oppression from the end of the Sassanid period onwards, settled in Khorasan and/or Transoxiana, which were far from the center of government. For this reason, there was no struggle with the Manichaeans in the early periods when Islam spread to Iranian lands.[168] On the other hand, Manichaeism remained one of the widespread religions of the world for about ten centuries due to the effect of incorporating some characteristics of existing religions.[169]

Although it is known that a Manichaean group called Dīnawariyyah existed in some cities of Khorasan,[170] we do not know of any of its activities until the middle of the 2nd/8th century. Manichaeans, who appeared as a party in theological debates from this century onwards and were associated with groups called "Atheists", were subjected to intense persecution, especially during the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdī.[171] It is known that Manichaeans, who were known to have had some theological debates with Islamic scholars during the period of Ma'mun, were active in Khorasan. It is mentioned in the sources that ʿAli al-Ridā, one of the Shīʿi Imāms, had debates with the Zanadiqa (Manichaeans) when he was in Marw.[172]

Another religion that influenced the Khorasan geography

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[168] Barthold Spuler, *Tārih-e Iran der Qurūn-e Nohostin-e Islāmī*, I-II, trans. Javad Falatori, Neshriyat-e Elm ve Farhang, Tehran 1386/2007, I/377.

[169] Yıldırım, *İran Mitolojisi*, 149-50.

[170] Melhem Chokr, *İslamın Hicri İkinci Asrında Zındıklık ve Zındıklar*, tr. Ayşe Meral, İstanbul 2002, 71-72.

[171] Muhammad ibn Ishaq Ibn al-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, thk. Rezā Tajaddud, Tehran 1350/1971, 401.

[172] Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/ 381-89.

is Mazdakism. It takes its name from Mazdak b. Bāmdād, who lived in Sassanid Iran during the reign of Kubad (488-496, 498-531) and advocated an alternative social order.[173] Regardless of the debates about Mazdak's identity, it is highly probable that he was born in the Khorasan region. [174]

The most important of the views attributed to Mazdak by the sources is the elimination of the causes of jealousy and disagreement among people, and the introduction of the right to joint use of property and women. Mazdak argued that the most important cause of human unhappiness was hatred and discord, and that these were caused by inequalities between people. According to him, people are equal in creation, so it is necessary to put an end to the existing inequality. For this reason, it is not right for one person to have more property or women than another. According to Mazdak, material things should be utilized in a moderate and egalitarian manner within a peaceful social and economic order.[175]

Mazdak had a profound effect on the political, social and religious life of Iran, both during his time and in the following periods. The most important of these effects was undoubtedly seen in the movements that emerged in his name after the killing of Abū Muslim. One of the most important of these was the Sinbad rebellion. It is mentioned in the sources that this rebellion, which emerged in Khorasan, was supported heavily by those who adopted Mazdak's ideas as well as those who held Shīʿi ideas. [176]

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[173] Kenan Has, "Mezdekiyye", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 2004, XXIX/523.

[174] Otakar Klima, *Tārīkh-e Jonbish-e Mazdakiyān*, trans. Jahangir F. Irshad, Intishārāt-e Tūs, Tehran 1386/2007. (*Beltrage zur Geschichte des Mazdakisnivs*), 180.

[175] Has, "Mezdekiyye", 523.

[176] Nizamülmülk, Abū ʿAli Hasan et-Tūsī, *Siyasetname*, trans. Mehmet Taha Ayar, 3rd Edition, İş Bankası Yayınları, Istanbul 2011, 294.

There is not enough information about Judaism, one of the minority religions that continued its existence in Khorasan, but it is known that the migration of representatives of this religion to Iranian lands dates back to before the Sasanids.[177] Jews, who were scattered in small groups and could not constitute a majority in any city of Iran, settled in cities with larger populations such as Ahvaz, Shushtar and Isfahan.[178] However, it is mentioned in geographical works of the 4th/10th century that Jews constituted the majority in Khorasan compared to Christians and Zoroastrians.[179] Jews, who were mostly engaged in trade, controlled the trade of the Silk Road in the region. One of these cities was Ray, a city located on the Silk Road and having an important position in terms of regional trade.[180] In the early 3rd/9th century, sources provide information that the Abbasid caliph Ma'mun held debates on various issues in Khorasan with the participation of the religious leaders of the region, and that "the chief of al-Jalut also participated in one of these debates."[181] Here, it can be thought that al-Jalut refers to a Jewish tribe. This shows that there were Jewish tribes in Khorasan at that time, although their population was not known.

In pre-Islamic Khorasan, one of the most influential religions after Zoroastrianism was Christianity. Christianity began to spread in the region before Islam, and this continued after Islamic rule. It is recorded that Christians constituted the majority in terms of population in the Isfahan region, and that Zoroastrians also had a significant representation.[182] Howev-

[177] J. Neusner, "Jews in Iran", *The Cambridge History of Iran (3)2*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, Cambridge University Press, London 2008, 909.
[178] Spuler, *Tārīkh-e Iran dar Qurūn-e Nokhostin-e Islāmī*, I/393-394.
[179] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 248.
[180] Karīman, *Ray-i Bāstān*, II/40.
[181] Shaykh Sadūq, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/310-15.
[182] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 296.

er, it should be noted that Christianity was represented in the region first through Nestorianism and later through Monophysite movements.[183] This Christian sect tried to maintain its existence and spread in areas where the power of the Roman Empire could not reach. The fact that the Roman and Byzantine Empires did not tolerate beliefs within their own borders of sovereignty led to the migration of Nestorian Christians first to Syria and its surroundings, and then to the Khorasan region.

The Nestorian community in Khorasan was governed from Marw. It is known that taxes were collected and sent through the bishops here in the first centuries of Islam. Apart from this, it is seen that the Martian and Daysaniyya groups within Christianity were also active in Khorasan from the early periods, but there are no traces of these groups in later periods.[184]

In the early 3rd/9th century, a man named Jāsalīq is said to have participated in the debates of al-Ma'mun, representing the Christians in the region. Apparently, a member of the clergy, he discussed various theological issues with Ali al-Ridā, such as Jesus, the Gospel, and the attributes of God.[185] This shows that Christians had an active community in Khorasan at that time. Indeed, according to al-Istakhrī, in the fourth century, there was a Christian church in the upper part of the city of Herāt, near the Zoroastrian Fire Temple.[186]

When Islam reached Khorasan, it is seen that Buddhism also made its presence felt in some cities. It is known that there were Buddhist temples in cities such as Balkh, which the authority of the Sassanids had difficulty in reaching, as well as in

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[183] Annemarie Schimmel, "The Ornament of the Saints: The Religious Situation in Iran in Pre-Safavid Times", *Iranian Studies*, 7/1-2 (Winter - Spring 1974), 89.
[184] Ibn al-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 402.
[185] Shaykh Sadūq, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/299-310.
[186] al-Istakhrī, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 150.

Herāt, Marw, Kabul, and Ghazni. The most important of these is the temple called "Nawbahar" in Balkh.[187]

The fact that the region hosted many religions made it easier for religious movements to find ground after the advent of Islam. Among such movements, we can count rebellions influenced by ancient Iranian and Far Eastern religions such as Sinbād, Bihāferid, Ustadsiz, Ishaq al-Turkī, Muqannāiyya, Mukhammira.[188] There is serious evidence that Zoroastrianism, which is the most important carrier of Sassanid culture and civilization, directly influenced many rituals of Shiʿism.[189]

The Spread of Islam in the Region

In order to comprehend the advent and propagation of Shiʿism in Khorasan, it is imperative to undertake a thorough examination of the region's Islamic history. As is known, Khorasan has hosted many civilizations and cultures throughout history, has been on the route of intercultural transition; it has also been a region where many opposition movements have found growth and development, thanks to the opportunity provided by being relatively outside the sphere of influence of central empires. Such religious-political movements have been able to find many followers in Khorasan.

The spread of Islam from the Arabian Peninsula, where it was first born, to other regions is a complex situation with political, socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. The Islamization of a vast geographical region such as Khorasan was made

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[187] al-Sādiqī, *Jonbishhā-ye Dīnī-ye Irānī,* 31.

[188] For the development and effects of these rebellions in Khorasan, see al-Sādiqī, *Jonbishhā-ye Dīnī-ye Irānī,* 144-326

[189] For detailed studies on the influence of regional culture on Shiʿism, see Shahı Ahmadov, *Sasani Kültürünün Şîa'nın Teşekkülündeki Rolü,* (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Ankara University, Ankara 2001, 53-66; Topaloğlu, *Şia'nın Oluşumunda İran Kültürünün Etkisi,* 118-200.

possible by a protracted process, the convergence of numerous factors, and the interplay of complex dynamics.

Historians have made different assessments about who conquered Khorasan and when. According to some, the region was conquered during the caliphate of ʿUmar, and according to others, during the caliphate of ʿUthman.[190] However, in any case, it is certain that the region was conquered by armies that went through Iraq during the reign of the four caliphs.

There are two routes from Iraq to Khorasan. The first of these is the northeastern road from the city of Ray, and the other is the road that reaches Nīshābur by following the Kerman-Tabas Road from the southwest. After the Battle of Qadisiyah, the forces sent by Caliph ʿUmar from Basra advanced as far as Tabasayn, known as the gate of Southwestern Khorasan, under the command of ʿAbdullah ibn Budayl ibn Warkah al-Khuzāī. The agreement made with the people of Tabasayn paved the way for the conquests to be made in Khorasan.[191] At this point, it can be thought that the conquests during the caliphate of ʿUmar prepared the ground for the conquests that followed. The continuous and effective raids on Khorasan started during the caliphate of ʿUthman. Abdullah ibn Āmir, whom ʿUthman appointed as the governor of Basra, marched eastward, leaving Ziyād ibn Abīh as his deputy. While Ahnaf b. Qays, one of his commanders, conquered the lands extending to Tohāristan in Khorasan, which he entered through Kermān and Tabasayn in 31/652, ʿAbdullah b. Āmir captured Nīshābur and built the first masjid of Khorasan in this city. This provided an important base for the conquest of

[190] For an evaluation of different narrations regarding the conquest of the region, see İsmail Pırlanta, "Horasan Bölgesinin Fethi Meselesi", *Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, Sivas, 14/1 (2011), ss. 387-402, 390.

[191] el-Belâzûrî, *Fütûhu'l-Buldân*, 584-585.

the whole of Khorasan. According to the information given by historians, the people of Khorasan, which was rapidly conquered by the efforts of ʿAbdullah b. Āmir and Ahnaf b. Qays, voluntarily became Muslims at the same speed.[192] After that, Tûs, Sarahs, Khabūshān, Jarmakān, Bāward and Nasa were conquered respectively. ʿAbdullah b. Āmir then moved on to Marw and conquered it and made it his center. Thus, until the end of the caliphate of ʿUthman, the parts of Khorasan up to the Jayhun were conquered. While ʿAbdullah b. Āmir came from the southwestern direction and made conquests, another contingent came from the lesser-known route to Ray and gradually conquered western Khorasan.

The decline in the state's control over Khorasan due to internal unrest during the caliphate of ʿAli led to frequent uprisings by the people of the region against the central government. So much so that the people of the region, who received help from the Turks, Sogdians and even the Chinese, expelled the Muslims from Nīshābur. ʿAli sent his nephew Jaʿda ibn Hubayrah al-Mahzūmī to intervene in the events, but he was unsuccessful. Although a partial military success was achieved under the command of Rabī ibn Ziyād,[193] the unrest in Khorasan continued until the death of ʿAli.[194]

The permanent conquest of Khorasan, some of whose cities were conquered more than once, coincided with the Muawiya period. Muawiya gave ʿAbdullah b. Āmir the governorship of

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[192] al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 127; al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 293; Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, 607.

[193] Contemporary Shīʿa sources claim that the people became acquainted with Shiʿism during the reign of ʿAli's nephew Jaʿda and Rabī ibn Ziyād, whom he sent as governors to the region. "The Khorasanīans saw true Islam in ʿAli and his children because of ʿAli's policies that did not distinguish between Arabs and others." See Azizullah Oṭāridī, *Āsitān-e Quds-e Ridāwī*, I-II, Intishārāt-e Otārid, Tehran 1386/2007, I/15-16.

[194] el-Belâzûrî, *Fütûhu'l-Buldân*, 593.

Khorasan in addition to the governorship of Basra, and when Ziyād b. Abīh was appointed governor of Basra, he appointed ʿUmayr b. Ahmar as governor of Marw in 51/671, Ziyād appointed Rabī b. Ziyād as governor of Khorasan and sent more than fifty thousand people from the people of Kūfa and Basra with their families to Khorasan.[195]

One of the most important factors affecting the Islamization of the region was the Arab tribes settled in Khorasan. The first Arab settlement in Khorasan was during the caliphate of ʿUthman. With this arrangement, Arab soldiers were settled with their families in central cities and strategic castles, but these soldiers either began to live in abandoned houses or in independent neighborhoods evacuated for this purpose. For the first time, during the reign of Muawiya, Arab families, other than soldiers, were sent for permanent settlements in these areas.[196] One of the most important purposes of these settlement activities was, Tribes that risked opposing the Umayyads were removed from the center. In this context, Ziyād b. Abih settled northern Arabs such as Tamim and Bakr, who had the potential to oppose the Umayyads, in the Khorasan region. The Tamim tribe from the Mudar branch and the Bakr tribe from the Rabia branch formed the majority in Khorasan and Sistan among the Arabs migrating to the region. These tribes continued the Qahtani-Yamani tribal wars that had been going on in Khorasan for a long time and changed the political structure of the region.[197] The Azd, Abdiqays and Khuzāa tribeslater joined these

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[195] el-Belâzûrî, *Fütûhu'l-Buldân*, 596.

[196] Khalil Athamina, "Emevî Hilafeti Döneminde Arap İskânı", tr. Saim Yılmaz, *Sakarya Üniv. İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2 (2000), 204.

[197] Abdulhuseyn Zarrīnkūb, *Tārīkh-e Mardom-e-Irān*, I-II, 12th edition, Amir Kebir, Tehran 1390/2011, II/30.

tribes.[198] It is seen that the policy of Arabization rather than Islamization was more prominent in these settlement activities.[199]

In addition to the Arabs who came in tribes, the warriors who went to the borders for jihad and war, and the Arabs with a tendency towards Kharijites and Shīʿites who could not hold on in Iraq also came to Khorasan. In the migrations towards the region, it is necessary to record the movement of other tribes or individuals, apart from the systematic settlement policy implemented by the authorized institutions of the state. The fact that this situation brought an uncontrolled population flow to the region makes it difficult to determine the exact Arab population in the region.[200] The kinship established through marriages eventually brought these two groups together, and as a result of this integration, a two-way interaction occurred. While Islam and Arabic were spreading rapidly in Iran, the newcomers were influenced by the old Iranian culture and traditions.[201]

The Arab settlement in Khorasan and the interaction it provided played an important role in the region's acceptance of Islam. The process of Islamization continued until the 3rd/9th century, when autonomous dynasties emerged in the east. Especially with the coming to power of the Abbasids, the style of government of constantly changing the governors at the head of the province was abandoned and rulers were appointed from among the local aristocrats who knew the local situation and had gained the trust of the people. Thus, the country was fully

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198 al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 125.

199 Mehmed Bahaüddin Varol, "İlk Dönem İslam Siyasi Tarihinin Şekillenmesinde Horasan Bölgesi ve Önemi", *Selçuk Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 18 (2004), 122.

200 Athamina, "Emevî Hilafeti Döneminde Arap İskânı"", 205.

201 Osman Gazi Özgüdenli, "İran: Fetihten Safevilere Kadar", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 2000, XXII/396.

brought under Islamic rule and complete security was established against internal and external threats.[202]

The Islamization of the Khorasan and Transoxiana region was also influenced by the dervishes sent to various regions by the governors who governed the region. One of these was Abū al-Saida, who was assigned to invite the people of the region to Islam during the reign of Ashras ibn Abdullah, the governor of Hisham ibn Abd al-Malik (d. 125/743). It is a person named Salih b. Tarif. Abū al-Saida went to Transoxiana with his translator because he did not know Persian. Abū al-Saida's efforts were successful, conversions increased and many mosques, which are the symbols of Islam, were built.[203]

In addition to political activities, economic factors also played an important role in the Islamization of Khorasan. The privileged status of the dihkan and marzuban, the aristocratic class that governed the cities before Islam, continued relatively after Islam.[204] The conversion of the notables of the cities to Islam in order to maintain their status accelerated the Islamization. When the decline in taxes such as jizya and haraj, which were not collected from Muslims according to Islamic law, negatively affected the economy, the central government asked the governors to re-impose these taxes. The governor, who wanted to please the Arabs settled in the region and meet the needs of the army, and the dihqan, the local noble class that received a certain share of the collected taxes, opposed the tax exemption granted to converts.[205] When this practice was abolished,

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[202] W. Barthold, *Moğol İstilasına Kadar Türkistan,* hzr. Hakkı dursun Yıldız, İstanbul 1981, 214.

[203] al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, VII/54-56; Gerlof Van Vloten, *Emevi Devrinde Arap Hâkimiyeti, Şîa ve Mesih Akideleri Üzerine Araştırmalar,* çev. Mehmet Sait Hatipoğlu, Ankara 1986, 34-35.

[204] Julius Wellhausen, *Arab Devleti ve Sukutu*, çev. Fikret Işıltan, Ankara 1960, 196.

[205] Van Vloten, *Emevi Devrinde Arap Hâkimiyeti,* 33.

which continued until the caliphate of ʿUmar b. Abdulaziz (d. 101/720), the people's conversion to Islam accelerated. After ʿUmar b. Abdulaziz, taxes were reintroduced and continued to play a negative role in the Islamization of the people.

The permanent Islamization of Khorasan was made possible especially by local governments such as the Tahirids and Samanids. During this period, local authorities opposed the remnants of the old religions in Khorasan, as well as the old religious movements and Shiʿism in Transoxiana and the Caspian region. On the other hand, they were strong advocates of Sunnīsm. Especially under the Samanid rule, Sunnīsm became the mainstream in Khorasan.[206] Apart from this, it is certain that Sufi movements also had important effects on the permanent Islamization of the region. One of the most important of these movements was the Qazaruniyya order founded by Shaykh Abū Ishaq Ibrahim b. Shahriyar Qazaruni (352-425/963-1034).[207] Qazaruni, who was active especially in the Fars region in the southeast of Khorasan during his lifetime and was known for converting tens of thousands of people to Islam, led the establishment of about sixty Khangahs in Khorasan through his disciples. These Khangahs played a major role in the spread of Islam in the region where they were established. It was governed centrally from Qazarun. [208]

Non-Shīʿa Sects in the Region

Khorasan has been one of the areas of activity of many theological and political sects. From the early periods, many groups, large and small, which did not have the chance to survive, es-

[206] Bosworth, "Khurasan" 57-58.
[207] Spuler, *Tārikh-e Iran dar Qurūn-e Nohostin-e Islāmī*, I/256.
[208] Hamid Algar, "Kâzerûnî", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 2002, XXV/145.

pecially in regions where the central administration was strong, found the opportunity to spread in Khorasan and continued their lives. The Kharijites were first active in this region,[209] and then the Murjiah, Shīʿa (Zaydiyya, Ismāʿiliyya and Imāmiyya) and Muʿtazila. The first of these, the Kharijites, fled from Kūfa and Basra to Ray and Ahvaz after being defeated in the Battle of Nahrawan in 38/658 and continued their activities in these areas.[210] The first to settle here was the Azāriqa sect, led by Nāfi ibn al-Azraq (d. 65/684), which constituted the strictest group of Kharijism. The followers of Nāfi b. al-Azraq first captured Ahwaz, then Fāris and Kermān and established a short-lived sovereignty there.[211]

Another Kharijite sect active in the region was Najadāt. Atiyya b. al-Aswad al-Ḥanafī, a member of this sect, could not resist the army of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan (d. 86/705) and fled to Sijistan.[212] It is mentioned that Shayban b. Salama and his supporters, who cooperated with Abū Muslim in the last period of the Umayyads, were also active in Khorasan and that they generally tried to spread in Jurjān, Nasa and Armenia.[213] During the Umayyad period, the sects that fled from Iraq and the Jazira region due to political pressures did not have difficulty in finding shelter in Khorasan.

Kharijites were active in Khorasan during the Abbasid period. The Hamziyya branch of the Ajarids, which was affiliated with Hamza ibn Azraq, first attacked Herāt and Bushenj, then

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[209] Kutlu, *Türklerin İslamlaşma Sürecinde Mürcie ve Tesirleri*, 158.

[210] For detailed information about the activities of the Kharijites in the Khorasan region, see Ahmet Yönem, *Horasan Maveraünnehir'de Haricilik* (Unpublished Phd Thesis), AÜSBE, Ankara 2005, 68-71.

[211] Abū Hatim al-Rāzī, *Ketāb al-Zīna*, 284; Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 61; al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, 117; Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 56.

[212] Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 63; al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, 121.

[213] al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, 128-9.

Nīshābur. The Kharijite sects, which had engaged in many large and small rebellions in the cities of Khorasan until the reign of Maʿmun (d. 218/833), were defeated by Tahir ibn Husayn (d. 207/822) during this period.[214] Although the presence of the Kharijites in some cities of Khorasan, especially Herāt, has been indicated in the 4th/10th century, their activities or the groups they belonged to are unclear.[215]

One of the sects that was active in the region in the early period was the Murjiah. However, there is not enough evidence that the Murjiah had a strong representation in the region until 100/718.[216] During this period, Sābit Qutna's writing of the work known as "Qasīda al-Irjaʿ(I)", which deals with Murji'ite ideas, played a very important role in the spread of the sect in the region.[217] On the other hand, the rebellion of Hārith b. Surayj, which took place towards the end of the Umayyad period, attracts attention as a rebellion movement motivated by Murji'ite ideas and initiated to eliminate the economic and social difficulties of the mawālī.[218] As a result of the suppression of the rebellion, a large number of Murjī leaders and followers who participated in this rebellion were killed, which dealt a heavy blow to the al- Murjīah in Khorasan. However, later, as a result of the increase in relations with the Murjia of Kūfa and Ahl al-Ra'y, the al-Murjia in Khorasan increased its representation through Hanafism. The Khorasan Murjiah

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214 Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 71-72.

215 al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 248; al-Malatī mentions that these groups, whose numbers are unknown and were seen in Khorasan, Sistan and Herāt, were from the Harūriyyah. (See Ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Malatī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-Radd Alā Ahl al-Ahwā wa al-Bid'a*, thk. Muhammad Zaynhum, Cairo 1413/1992, 42.)

216 Kutlu, *Türklerin İslamlaşma Sürecinde Mürcie ve Tesirleri,* 168.

217 Sönmez Kutlu, "İlk Mürcî Metinler: İrca Kasidesi (I) ve İrca Kasidesi (II)", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 39/1 (1999), 242.

218 Kutlu, *Türklerin İslamlaşma Sürecinde Mürcie ve Tesirleri,* 185.

was represented by strong figures in Khorasan cities such as Balkh, Ray, and Nīshābur, especially in the 3rd/9th century.[219]

One of the important sects in the region, which is also accepted[220] as the first followers of Abū Hanifa and the extremists of Murjia, is Karrāmiyya.[221] Karrāmiyya, which was formed around the views of Abū Abdullah Muhammad b. Karrām (d. 255/869),[222] gained a large number of supporters in his birthplace of Nīshābur and became one of the movements that left its mark on the period.[223] Ibn Karrām, who first began to spread his ideas in his birthplace of Sistan, settled in the region of Ghur after being expelled from there. Unable to establish himself there either, Ibn Karrām and his supporters headed to Nīshābur, where he would spend most of his life.[224] Ibn Karrām, who was famous for his sermons in Nīshābur, was criticized by his opponents for having a strictly tajsim and tashbih view.[225]

One of the sects active in Khorasan is the Muʿtazilah. Although there is not enough information about the activities of

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[219] For detailed information about the activities of the Murjia in the cities of Khorasan, see Kutlu, *Türklerin İslamlaşma Sürecinde Mürcie ve Tesirleri,* 212-253.

[220] Kutlu, *Türklerin İslamlaşma Sürecinde Mürcie ve Tesirleri*, 144, 234; "Kerramiyye", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 2002, XXV/294; (Salih Aydın, "Ebu Hanîfe'nin En Kapsamlı Yorumu: Kerrâmiye", *İslam Hukuku Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 19 (2012), 131-148.)

[221] C. E. Bosworth, "The Rise of The Karāmiyyah in Khurasan", *The Medieval History of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia,* London 1977, 5.

[222] For detailed information about Muhammad ibn Karram, see al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, 107-112; al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, X/374-76.

[223] Margaret Malamud, "The Politicis of Heresy in Medieval Khurasan: The Karramiyya in Nishapur", *Iranian Studies*, 27/1-4 (1994), pp. 37-51; Sönmez Kutlu, "Kerrâmiyye Mezhebi: Tarihçesi, Fikirleri, Edebiyatı", *Tarihsel Din Söylemleri Üzerine Zihniyet Çözümlemeleri*, Otto Yay., Ankara 2012, 315.

[224] Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 160.

[225] Bosworth, "The Rise of The Karāmiyyah in Khurasan", 5-6; For details of their theological views, see Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 160-8; Kutlu, "Kerrâmiyye Mezhebi", 306-10; Also, for a detailed study on the reflections of the Karrāmi tradition in Khorasan, see Hüseyin Doğan, *Horasan ve Maveraünneir'de Ilımlı Bir İslam Politikası: Kerramî Söylem ve Yansımaları*, Rağbet yay., İstanbul 2015.

the sect in Khorasan, it can be said that it had the opportunity to spread by gaining political power during the period of the Abbasid Caliph Ma'mun. Muʿtazilah, whose activities were restricted after the Mihna process, began to gain supporters in Ray and Tabaristan under the influence of its relations with the Zaydiyya.[226] On the other hand, according to the information given by al-Maqdisī, the fact that the issue most discussed by the people in Ray was the issue of the "Khalk al-Qur'an" is an indication of the prevalence of Muʿtazila in the city.[227] In addition, al-Maqdisī, in another city of Khorasan, Nīshābur, He notes that the Muʿtazila were large in numbers even though they were not politically active.[228]

The most influential figure of the Muʿtazilah in Khorasan during the period covered by our research is Abū al-Qāʿsim al-Qāʿbī al-Balkhī (d. 319/931). Al-Kaʿbī, who belonged to the Baghdād Muʿtazilah, continued to spread the views of his sect and wrote works after returning to his hometown of Balkh. His works played an important role in the spread of the sect in the region.[229] In this period, there were various struggles between the Muʿtazilah and the Shiʿite factions. Although it is known that there was a close relationship between these two factions due to their similarity of views, there are also traces of an intellectual conflict. In particular, the fact that Ibn Qibbah al-Rāzī (d. 319/931?), who had previously been a Muʿtazilite but con-

[226] For a study that examines the Zaydiyya-Muʿtazila relationship in historical context, see Mehmet Ümit, *Zeydiyye-Mutezile Etkileşimi Zeyd b. Ali'den Kâsım er-Ressî'nin Ölümüne Kadar*, İSAM yay, İstanbul 2010; Also, as a continuation of this study, see Mehmet Ümit, "Hazar Zeydîleri ve Mutezilîler", *İslamî İlimler Dergisi*, VI/1 (2011), ss. 231-254.

[227] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 296.

[228] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 248.

[229] For detailed information, see Yunus Kaplan, *Horasan Mu'tezilesi ve Ebū'l-Kâsım el-Ka'bî'nin Hayatı,* (Unpublished Master Thesis), Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul 2006.

verted to the Imāmiyya, wrote refutations from Ray to Balkh, where al-Kaʿbī was located, and on the other hand, Fadl b. Shādhān (d. 260/873), who lived in Nīshābur, criticized some of the Muʿtazilite ideas in his work *al-Īzāh*, shows that there was also a struggle between the two sects in Khorasan. This struggle between the two sects was replaced by cooperation after the rise of the Buwayhids to power and the dominance of the Baghdād school over the Imāmiyya, especially with Sharif al-Murtazā (d. 436/1044). The fact that the Buwayhids provided ample opportunities for both sects was instrumental in the consolidation of this relationship. In the 4th/10th century, the opening of a madrasa for the Muʿtazilites and Zaydis in Bayhaq should be considered an important development in terms of the extent of this relationship.[230]

[230] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 194; Ümit, "Hazar Zeydîleri ve Mutezilîler", 250.

CHAPTER I
POLITICAL MANIFESTATIONS OF SHIʿISM IN KHORASAN

Shiʿism bears the deep traces of the political conflicts of the first century of the Hijra. The most salient of these conflicts is, without a doubt, the political struggle between the Umayyad-Hashemite families, whose origins extend to pre-Islamic times. The analysis of this historical dynamic is of paramount importance in comprehending the political milieu of the sects, with a particular emphasis on Shiʿism. However, the present section of our study will focus more on the political reflections of this struggle in Khorasan.

The struggle between these two tribes began with political reasons before Islam and continued after taking on a religious form with the advent of Islam, gaining a new dimension. With the conquest of Mecca, the Umayyad lineage, the majority of which was Muslim, lost the influential political position it had gained before Islam for a short time. In the new process that began after the death of the Prophet, the caliphate of ʿUthman, who was a member of the Umayyad lineage, brought this family to the forefront again. The ʿAli-Muawiya struggle, which began with the murder of ʿUthman, led to the rebellion of some

Hāshimites during the Umayyad period and their eventual killing. The Umayyad- Hāshimite struggle, which ended with the collapse of the Umayyad dynasty by the Abbasids, a branch of the Hāshimites, turned into an internal struggleof the Hāshimites with the oppression that the Abbasids exerted on the sons of ʿAli. [231]

The end of the Umayyads and the period when the Abbasids came to power was a period when political struggles began to gain a religious dimension and the first Shīʿite ideas emerged. It is possible to say that the first Shiʿism was represented by three basic tendencies in the period in question. The first of these is the Kaysānī sects, which accepted Ali's son from Fātima, Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, as the Imām and around which various extreme ideas came together; the second is the Rāfizīs,[232] who accepted ʿAli as the Imām but had negative views about the caliphs before him and who would later be called the Imāmiyya; and finally the Zaydī movements, which accepted ʿAli as the Imām but recognized the first three caliphs in order to maintain a balance and argued that Imāmate was only the right of the person from the lineage of ʿAli who took up the sword and fought.[233]

Activities of Kaysāniyya

Kaysāniyya is a group known for its extreme views within the Shīʿa, accepting the son of ʿAli, Muhammad b. al-Hanafi-

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231 For a study on Umayyad-Hashemite relations in the historical process, see İbrahim Sarıçam, *Emevî-Hâşimî İlişkileri: İslam Öncesinden Abbâsîlere Kadar*, TDV Yay., 3. Baskı, Ankara 2011.

232 For more information about the change in the Imāmat-centred thought structure of this formation, which would later be called Imāmiyya, and the process of putting forward the theory of Imāmiyyah, see Metin Bozan, *İmamiyye'nin İmamet Nazariyesi'nin Teşekkül Süreci*, İSAM yay., İstanbul 2009.

233 On the early Shīʿite movements, see W. Montgomery Watt, *İslâm Düşüncesinin Teşekkül Devri*, çev. E. Ruhi Fığlalı, 3. Baskı, Sarkaç yay., Ankara 2010, 51-85.

yya, as the Imām and Mahdī.[234] This sect came into the scene of history as a result of the events that took place after Mukhtar al-Saqafī rebelled to avenge the death of Husayn in Karbalā by the Umayyads.[235] For this reason, it is also referred to as Kaysāniyya, or Mukhtāriyya.[236] However, works of the Maqālāt mention many sects that have ties to Kaysāniyya.[237] Kaysāniyya,[238] during the Umayyad period, it was not only related to Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya, but was also used as an "umbrella con-

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[234] Abū Hatim al-Rāzī, *Ketāb al-Zīna,* 294; Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 31-40; Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 342; Wilferd Madelung, "Kaysāniyya", *EI²*, Leiden 1997, IV/836; Sayyid Hasen Khomeini, *Farhang-e Jāmi'-e Firaq-e Islamī*, I-III, Intishārāt-e Ittilāāt, Tehran 1391/2012, II/1150.

[235] For detailed information about the Mukhtar al-Saqafī movement, see Onat, *Emeviler Devri Şii Hareketleri ve Günümüz Şiiliği,* 93-114.

[236] Kummî-Nevbahtî, *Şiî Fırkalar*, 101; Abū Hātim al-Rāzī's account asserts that this sect, which asserted that the Imāmate did not stem from the lineage of Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya, was designated as either pure Kaysāniyya or Mukhtāriyya. (See *Ketāb al-Zīna,* 297.)

[237] Abū Hatim al-Rāzī divides the Kaysāniyya into seven sub-sects: Karbiyya, Bayāniyya, Hāshimiyya, Hārisiyya, Abbāsiyya, Rizāmiyya and Rāwandiyya (See *Ketāb al-Zīna,* 297-300); Al-Ashʿarī says that the Kaysāniyya was divided into eleven sects and lists the sects such as the Hāshimiyya, Bayāniyya, Karbiyya, Rāwandiyya, Rizāmiyya, Abū Muslimiyya, Harbiyya. (See, *İlk Dönem İslam Mezhepleri Makâlâtü'l-İslâmiyyîn ve İhtilâfu'l-Musallîn*, 49-55); Abū Tammām states that the Kaysāniyya were divided into four factions: Mukhtāriyya, Karbiyya, Ishāqiyya and Harbiyya (See Abū Tammām, *Bāb al-Shayṭān min Kitāb al-Shajarah*, ed. Wilferd Madelung-Paul Walker, Leiden-Boston-Cologne 1998, 98-102; According to al-Shahristānī, the Kaysāniyya are divided into four sects: Mukhtāriyya, Hāshimiyya, Bayāniyya and Rizāmiyya. (See *al-Milal wa al-Nihal,* 144-151*);* Also see Yaşar Kocadağ, *Keysaniyye'nin Doğuşu, Gelişimi ve Düşünceleri*, (Unpublished Master Thesis), Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İstanbul 2004, 54-78.

[238] The identity of Kaysān, who gave his name to the faction, is disputed. According to al-Dīnawari, Kaysān was Mukhtar's army commander (See Abū Hanīfa Ahmad ibn Dāwūd al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, thk. Issâm Muhammad al-Hājj Ali, Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyya, Beirut 1433/2012, 430); According to al-Shahristanī, he was a freed slave of ʿAli or a student of Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya (See *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, 144); According to Ibn Rustah, it was Mukhtar's nickname. (See *Kitāb al-Aʿlāq al-Nafisa*, 218.) However, Abū Amra, one of the well-known Mawālī who the chief guard of Mukhtar was and supported him during his rebellion, The view that it was a person named Kaysān is more accurate. (See Watt, *İslâm Düşüncesinin Teşekkül Devri*, 60.)

cept" that included sects with extreme views regarding some of the Alid, especially ʿAli.[239]

The Kaysāniyya had gained a significant number of supporters among the South Arabs and Mawālī who were the opponents of the Umayyads in Iraq. The Mawālī[240] who were harmed by the Arabism policy of the Yemenī-Arab tribes and the Umayyads, showed their opposition through the Hāshimites, the eternal enemies of the Umayyads, and supported all the rebellions carried out for this purpose.[241] The Mawālī provided unwavering support to Mukhtar during his rebellion. However, following the defeat they suffered, they came to the understanding that securing a political foothold in the Iraqi geography would be an insurmountable task. Consequently, they strategically aligned their power with that of their opponents in the Khorasan region. Thus, the first Shīʿa ideas in the sense of claiming rights in the caliphate that developed around the Hāshimites during the Umayyad period, left the Iraqi lands where they were born and developed by the Mawālī and were carried to the Khorasan region from the 2nd/8th century onwards.[242]

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[239] Khomeinī, *Farhang-e Jāmiʿ-e Firaq-e Islamī*, II/1151; Wadād al-Qāḍī, *al-Qaysāniyya fi al-Tārīkh wa al-Adab*, Beirut 1973, 44-66; for a detailed analysis of the relationship between Kaysāniyya and Ghulât, see Wadād al-Qāḍī, "Keysaniye'ye Özel Referansla İslam Kaynaklarında Gulât Teriminin Gelişimi", çev. Yusuf Benli, *Din Bilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*, VII/2 (2007), ss. 241-276; It is also mentioned that Kaysāniyya was a nickname given to the groups that sympathized with ʿAli by his enemies in the last periods of the Umayyad caliphate for the purpose of insulting. On the other hand, this expression was used by all those who opposed the Umayyads. It can also be seen as a general name for communities. (See Watt, *İslâm Düşüncesinin Teşekkül Devri*, 61, 219.)

[240] For detailed information on the role played by the Mawālī in various revolts during the Umayyad period, see Adnan Demircan, *İslam Tarihinin İlk Döneminde Arap-Mevâli İlişkisi*, Beyan yay., İstanbul 199, pp. 158-189.

[241] Most of the supporters of Mukhtar were from the Hamadanis and the Persian children of Kūfa. For more information, see al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Tiwāl*, 424.

[242] For more information see Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 77; Yusuf Benli, *Hicrî II. Asır'da Kufe Merkezli Şii Nitelikli Gulât Hareketler*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis), Şanlıurfa 1999, 59.

The Mawālī were forced to develop an oppositional stance under the influence of the Arabism policy that was intensively implemented during the Umayyad period. For this reason, it is possible to see the traces of the Mawālī in all oppositional movements. Indeed, it has been seen that the members of the Mawālī played very important roles in the formation of religious sects such as the Murji'ah, the Muʿtazila and the Shīʿa and in the formation of some of their views.[243] In this context, the transfer of the first Shīʿa ideas to Khorasan by the Mawālī should be understood as a development closely related to their position.

The developments in Iraq and the connection of Kaysāniyya with Shiʿism is due to their idea of bringing the Hāshimites to power against the Umayyad family. In other words, the real purpose of the support of the Mawālī and the Kūfans here is the love they felt for the Hāshimites based on the principle of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" in the Umayyad-Hāshimite struggle.[244] The fact that the Hāshimites were the best opponent to the Umayyad power and thus to the policies implemented by this power can be seen as another reason for their support.[245] However, it should not be overlooked that during the same period, some groups voiced ideas that had not been seen before, such as Mahdī, raj'at, badā, regarding some people from the lineage of ʿAli, and that these were referred to as Kaysāniyya by the sources of the History of Sects.

The Kaysāniyya, which was formed around the name of Mu-

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[243] Osman Aydınlı, "Mezheplerin Oluşum Sürecinde Mevâlî'nin Rolü", *Gazi Üniversitesi Çorum İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, II/3 (2003/1), pp. 13-26.

[244] In fact, the rebellion of Abdurrahman ibn Muhammad ibn el-Ashʿas and Yazīd ibn Muhallab was carried out to obtain the autonomy of Iraq against the domination of the Syrians. (See Julius Wellhausen, *İslâmiyetin İlk Devrinde Dinî-Siyasî Muhalefet Partileri*, çev. Fikret Işıltan, Ankara 1989, 156.)

[245] Fazlur Rahman, *İslâm*, çev. Mehmet Dağ-Mehmet Aydın, 6. Baskı, Ankara Okulu Yay., Ankara 2000, 244.

hammad ibn al-Hanafiyya, divided into many groups after his death in 81/700, as a result of disagreements on whether he died, where he was, whether he would return, and to whom the Imāmate would pass after him. According to some, Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya did not die, but lived on Mount Radwā near Medina with a lion and a tiger protecting him. One day he will return and rule the earth.[246] However, according to the view that constitutes the majority of the Kaysāniyya and is also accepted by his followers in Khorasan, Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya died and his son Abū Hāshim was accepted as the Imām in his place.[247] This information shows that the groups in Khorasan were not interested in the extreme ideas that emerged in Iraq and developed around individuals from the lineage of ʿAli.

The first Shīʿite ideas and organization in Khorasan, based on the Imāmate of a descendant of ʿAli, were probably brought to the followers of Abū Hāshim.[248] This sect, which was organized in Khorasan based on the name of Abū Hāshim, is also called the Hāshimiyya.[249] Although it is not known exactly what kind of ideas Abū Hāshim had, it is understood that after the death of his father Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya in 81/700, many groups opposing the Umayyads in Khorasan recognized him as an Imām and established contact with him through a secret organization.[250] However, we do not have sufficient information about the details of the Kaysāniyya's activities in Khorasan.

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246 Kummî-Nevbahtî, *Şiî Fırkalar*, 112.

247 *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya*, 165.

248 Husayn Muftakharī, "Awwalîn Takāpūhā-ye Tashayyuʿ dar Khorasan", *Tārīkh-e Islam*, 1/1 (Bahar 1379/2000), 123; according to Van Vloten, even if there were preachers of Ābu Hashim in Khorasan, they did not carry out any meaningful activity before the Abbasid invitation. (See *Emevi Devrinde Arap Hâkimiyeti*, 56.)

249 al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, 147-49.

250 *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya*, 173; Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 90; Hasan Onat, "Ebu Hâşim", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1994, X/146; Husayn Güneş, "Abū Haşim Abdullah'ın Siyasi Etkinliği", *İSTEM,*

Abū Hāshim, and therefore the Kaysāniyya, had a powerful and secret organization in Khorasan from the end of the first century of the Hijra. Abū Hāshim, who was imprisoned for a while in Damascus[251] in 92/700 after the Umayyads probably learned of such an organization, went to his cousin Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Abdullah ibn Abbas (d. 125/742) in Humayma near Damascus after his release from prison. It has been claimed that he willed that the Imāmate would pass to Muhammad ibn Ali after him in Humayma, which was the secret center of Abbasid supporters at that time, and that he especially gave a list of the members of his organization in Khorasan. It has been claimed that this testament[252] was evaluated as a document of the transfer of the Imāmate from the lineage of ʿAli to the lineage of Abbas, and that the Abbasids based the legitimacy of their activities in Khorasan on it.[253] If the narration is true, it can be accepted that the idea of an Imām appointing his own successor became widespread during the founding years of the Abbasids.[254] However, the fact that the phrase "al-Ridā min Āl Muhammad" [255] was used instead of this testament, which was allegedly given by Abū Hāshim during the Abbasid revolution,

9/11 (Konya 2011), 282; Moshe Sharon, *Black Banners from the East: The Establishment of the Abbasid State - Incubation of a Revolt,* Jerusalem 1983, 126-128.

[251] *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya*, 174; Hasan ibn Muhammad Qommī mentions that Ābu Hashim was imprisoned by the Umayyads because of his claim to be Imāmate. (See *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 341.)

[252] *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya*, 173-174.

[253] Wellhausen, *İslâmiyetin İlk Devrinde Dinî-Siyasî Muhalefet Partileri*, 152; Onat, "Abū Hâşim", 146; Sharon, *Black Banners from The East,* 127; It is not known what activities this organization, which is said to be affiliated with Ābu Hashim in Khorasan, carried out, and it is doubtful whether they were Ābu Hashim's men and whether they acted in accordance with his directives. (See Güneş, "Abū Haşim Abdullah'ın Siyasi Etkinliği", 284).

[254] Watt, *İslâm Düşüncesinin Teşekkül Devri*, 76.

[255] About the transition of the caliphate from Ābu Hashim to the Abbasids, see Mehmet Atalan, "Abbasî Daveti Sürecinde er-Rızâ min Âl-i Muhammed Söylemi", *İslami Araştırmalar,* 18/2 (2005), ss. 183-191.

and that the claim that such a testament was in question may have been produced as a result of the Alid's desire for a share of power after the revolution succeeded and their consequent exclusion should not be overlooked. [256]

Although the Abbasids incorporated the pro-Kaysānid/Hāshimite groups in Khorasan after Abū Hāshim, we see that groups that operated outside this organization and only acted on behalf of the Alid continued to exist. Ammar b. Yazīd,[257] also known as "Khidash", who was appointed as the head of the invitation in Khorasan on behalf of the Abbasids in 118/736, gained significant power here and after a while, he started to act independently and act on behalf of the Alid. As a result of these activities, the Abbasids declared him persona non grata and ensured that propaganda was made about him that he had extreme ideas.[258] It is recorded that Khidash, together with a group called Hālidiyya, who were active under his command in Nīshābur, claimed that the Imāmate belonged to Ali's lineage from Fātima, and for this reason their supporters were called Fatimids.[259] Sharon also states that Khidash became the head of the Hāshimiyya organization in Khorasan and that because he was active on behalf of the Alid, the Abbasids tried to discredit him by attributing extreme ideas such as heresy and Hurramism to him.[260] If these narrations are accepted as true, we can say that in addition to the discourse of "al-Ridā min Āl Muhammad" during the Abbasid invitation, the Shīʿite ideas,

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[256] Nahide Bozkurt, *Oluşum Sürecinde Abbasî İhtilali*, Ankara Okulu Yay., Ankara 2000, 32-33.

[257] For detailed information, see Mehmet Atalan, "Abbasî Daveti Sürecinde Ammar b. Yezid", *Dini Araştırmalar*, 8/22 (2005), ss. 287-296.

[258] Ahmad b. Yaḥya b. Jabir al-Balāzūrī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, I-XIII, thk. Suhayl Zakkâr-Riyaz Zirikli, Beirut 1417/1996, IV/160.

[259] *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya*, 403-404.

[260] Sharon, *Black Banners from the East*, 169-171.

which meant that the imāmate was exclusive to the lineage of ʿAli, were also represented in Khorasan.

The rebellion of Abdullah b. Muawiyah, which emerged in 127/744, at a time when the Abbasid movement was close to success, is an event that should be emphasized in terms of its activities in Khorasan. This movement managed to gather together all the groups opposing the Umayyads, including the Hāshimites, in Khorasan.[261]

Abdullah b. Muawiyah b. Abdullah b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Talib was born in Medina as a member of the Hāshimite lineage and grew up there. In 127/744 in Kūfa, he claimed[262] that the Hāshimites were more worthy of the caliphate than the Marwanites and called for allegiance on his behalf with the slogan "al-Ridā min Āl Muhammad". After a while, when he was unsuccessful there, he went to Iran upon the advice of his relatives.[263] He ruled successfully in the southern regions of Iran such as Fars, Kerman, Isfahan for a while. During this period, it is claimed that he received the support of the Hāshimites and all groups opposing the Umayyads, and even that some of the Abbasids also pledged allegiance to him. It is also seen that he gathered around him figures from the Umayyad dynasty who opposed the current Umayyad administration, such as Sulayman ibn Hāshim ibn Abd al-Malik and ʿUmar ibn Suhayl ibn Abd al-Azīz ibn Marwan.[264] After a while, when he was defeated by the Umayyad army, he decided to head towards Khorasan, but he was killed by Abū Muslim, who made the invitation on behalf of the Abbasid family, in 129/746. [265]

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[261] Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 117-120.

[262] Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam*, VII/258.

[263] al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*,, VII/303-304; Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 120.

[264] Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 121.

[265] For detailed information about the movement, see Onat, *Emeviler Devri Şii Hareketleri*, 134; William F. Tucker, "'Abd Allâh Ibn Muawiya and the Janâhiyya: Reb-

The movement of Abdullah ibn Muawiyah is an opposition coalition united on the basis of hostility towards the Umayyads.[266] The fact that different groups such as the Kharijites, Zaydis, Ghulat groups, Abbasid supporters and even Umayyads who were not satisfied with the administration participated in this movement shows that the movement was not based on a specific religious or sectarian basis, but was entirely a struggle to gain political power.[267] Although it received the support of various groups, the fact that the main backbone of this movement was the Hāshimite opposition and that the sources of the History of Sects attribute a sect called[268] Harbiyya to it led to its connection with Shiʿism. However, Onat states that although the supporters of Abdullah ibn Muawiya accepted that he became the Imām according to the will of Abū Hāshim, he had no claim to the caliphate when he came to Kūfa during the rebellion. [269]

The Kaysāniyya sect split into various groups after the death of Abū Hāshim in 98/716-17.[270] However, in the context of the Khorasan region, it is necessary to focus on the Rāwandiyya, Rizāmiyya and Muslimiyya sects.

The Rāwandiyya, also known as the "Abbasid Shīʿa",[271] claim that after Abū Hāshim, the Imāmate passed from the sons of

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els and Ideologues of the Late Umayyad Period", *Studia Islamica*, 51 (1980), 39-57; Sarıçam, *Emevî-Hâşimî İlişkileri*, 352-363; Mehmet Atalan, "Bir Muhalefet İttifakı: Abdullah b. Muaviye (129/746-47) Hareketi", *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 23 (İzmir 2006), 42.

[266] Farhad Daftary, *İsmaililer Tarihleri ve Öğretileri,* çev. Erdal Toprak, Doruk yay., İstanbul 2005, 120.

[267] Daftary, *İsmaililer,* 120.

[268] Harbiyya accepts that after Abū Hāshim, the Imāmate passed to Abdullah ibn Harb and then to Abdullah ibn Muawiyah through a will. (See Abū Temmām, *Bāb al-Shaytān min Kitāb al-Shajarah*, 101.)

[269] Onat, *Emeviler Devri Şii Hareketleri,* 134-136.

[270] There are records that Abū Hashim was poisoned and killed by the Umayyads. (See *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya*, 188-189; Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 91.)

[271] Kummî-Nevbahtî, *Şiî Fırkalar*, 168.

Abbas to Muhammad b. Ali, and after him to other members of the Abbasid family. Members of this sect later stated that Abbas became the Imāmate after the Prophet and that the ummah fell into disbelief by not accepting his Imāmate. They claimed that the Imāmate passed to his other sons through a will after Abbas.[272] This sect took its place in history with the extreme views they put forward about the Abbasid caliph Abū Jaʿfar Mansur, who went as far as to see him as a god. [273] After the death of Abū Hāshim, it is observed that other Kaysānid groups in Khorasan united with the Rāwandiyya in the process and provided all kinds of support for the Abbasid revolution to gain ground around the discourse of "al-Ridā min Âl Muhammad".[274]

One of the sects that are considered within the Kaysānid groups is the *Rizāmiyya*, which emerged in Khorasan. According to this sect, imāmate passed from the ʿAli to his son Muhammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, from him to his son Abū Hāshim, from him to ʿAli b. Abdullah b. Abbas, and from him to Muhammad b. ʿAli, who in turn bequeathed it to his son Ibrahim b. Muhammad, who was nicknamed "al-Imām". Abū Muslim, the representative of the Abbasid movement in Khorasan, was also claimed to be a member of this sect, and it was even claimed that Abū Muslim was the Imām and that the spirit of God had visited him. [275] According to al-Ashʿarī, the Rizāmiyya claimed that Abū Muslim was killed, while the sect called Abū Muslimiyya believed that Abū Muslim did not die, although the sources mention

[272] Abū Temmām, *Bāb al-Shayṭān min Kitāb al-Shajarah*, 104-105.

[273] Abū Hatim al-Rāzī, *Ketāb al-Zīna,* 300; el-Eş'arî, *İlk Dönem İslam Mezhepleri*, 52-53; el-Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar,* 32.

[274] Sharon, *Black Banners from The East,* 111; Abdurrafī (Refi') Haqīqat), *Tārīkh-e Mazhāb-e Tashayyuʿ, az Āghāz tā Pāyān-e Qarn-e Sīzdehom*, Intishārāt-e Kūmesh, Tehran 1390/2011, 164.

[275] Kummî-Nevbahtî, *Şiî Fırkalar*, 169; Abū Hatim al-Rāzī, *Ketāb al-Zīna,* 298-99; al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa'n-Nihal*, 150-151.

the existence of two closely related sects called Rizāmiyya and Muslimiyya. [276] The assassination of Abū Muslim, who had a charismatic personality, in 137/755 united especially the dissident gulat movements and Shīʿite groups in Khorasan with the revolts that emerged with Persian nationalism, and formed the starting point of the Khurramite movements such as Mubayyiza and Muhammira in the following periods. [277] On the other hand, when the Ghulat groups, probably formed around Abū Muslim's name, realized that they would not be able to see the social and economic blessings of the Abbasid revolution, they sought ways to carry out their opposition through different intellectual movements. [278]

As a result, it is seen that the first Shīʿite movements that emerged during the Umayyad period manifested themselves as the efforts of various groups that united in opposition to the Umayyads, under the influence of the Umayyad-Hāshimite conflict, to show themselves in the political arena through the Hāshimites. In this context, the groups in Khorasan first supported Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya, then Abdullah ibn Muawiyah and finally the sons of Abbas. This shows that Khorasan Shiʿism had not yet taken on a coherent and orderly identity of belief during this period. The movements that moved to Khorasan in cooperation with the mawālī against the Umayyads, who displayed a tribal-centered administration during the Abbasid period of coming to power, and were described as ghulat, continued their lives by mixing with Mazdakite-Khurramite

[276] el-Eş'arî, *İlk Dönem İslam Mezhepleri*, 54; ʿAli ibn Husayn Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Zahab wa Maʿādin al-Jawhar*, I-II, 10th edition, Intishārāt-e Ilmī wa Farhengī, Tehran 1390/2011, II/297.

[277] For this reason, Abū Hatim al-Rāzī states that another name for this sect is Hurramiyya. (See *Ketāb al-Zīna,* 299); For detailed information, see Yusuf Benli, *Fars-Şîa İlişkisi (H. II. Asır),* Malatya 2006, 222-311.

[278] Daniel, *The Political and Social History of Khurasan*, 125.

and Ismāʿīlī-based formations when they could not gain sufficient political support after the revolution was successful. [279]

Zaydī Activities

Zaydism is a sect that began to form in the 3rd/9th century.[280] However, the term of Zaydī, which we will discuss in this section, was used for those who developed a political stance in the sense of rebelling against administrators who were seen as oppressive around an Imām from the lineage of ʿAli.[281] While these rebellion attempts were initially carried out against the Umayyads as a manifestation of the Umayyad- Hāshimite struggle, they turned into the Abbasid- Talibid struggle after the administration passed to the Abbasids.[282] However, it should not be overlooked that there were also groups within the Zaydī order that remained distant from politics, were in favor of the

[279] Al-Juwaynī states that the Kaysāniyya sided with the Ismāʿilis in the divisions that occurred within the Shīʿa community after Jaʿfar al-Sādiq and that they severed their relations with the group that would later be called the Imāmiyya. (See Alāuddin Atamalik Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-e Jahangūshā-ye Juwaynī*, I-III, 3rd edition, Nashr-i Elm, Tehran 1391/2012, III/144; Farhad Daftary, ""Emeviler Döneminde ve Abbasîlerin İlk Dönemlerinde İran, Horasan ve Mâverâünnehir'deki Mezhebi ve Milliyetçi Hareketler", tr. Mehmet Atalan, *Kelam Araştırmaları*, 4/2 (2006), 145-146.

[280] For detailed information about the formation process of the Zaydiyya, see Yusuf Gökalp, *Şiî Gelenekte Alternatif Bir İktidar Mücadelesi: Erken Dönem Zeydîlik,* Araştırma Yay, Ankara 2014, 72.

[281] Watt, *İslâm Düşüncesinin Teşekkül Devri*, 230; In fact, the following incident that took place during the time of Harun al- Rashid can be given as an example of the use of the concept in this sense. One day, Harun al- Rashid, who was worried about a rebellion against him, asked his vizier Fadl ibn Yahyā if he had heard any news from Khorasan. He mentioned some of the activities of Abdullah ibn Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn ʿAli ibn Husayn ibn ʿAli. Thereupon, Harun brought him from Medina to his palace and said, "You seem to be gathering the Zaydiyya around you!" (See Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 344.)

[282] For detailed information, see Cemil Hakyemez, "Abbasî Devletine Yönelik Alioğulları Tehdidi", *Atatürk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, IX/1 (2007), ss. 327-341; Betül Yurtalan, *Mezhep ve Siyaset Abbasî-Fâtımî Çekişmesinin Sünnîliğe Etkisi*, Ankara Okulu Yayınları, Ankara 2024, 52-55.

government rather than against it, and contributed to the formation of the sect with their scientific productivity, such as the Butriyya and Jārudiyya .[283]

After the death of Husayn in Karbalā in 61/680, we see that the members of the ʿAli lineage did not attempt a direct rebellion against the government for a long time. This situation continued until the rebellion of Husayn's grandson, Zayd ibn ʿAli, in Kūfa in 122/740.[284] Zayd b. ʿAli left Kūfa due to an economic dispute with the governor of the time, Yusuf b. ʿUmar, and fled to Qadisiyah. Some of the supporters of the Alid, who had a meeting with Zayd here, told him not to flee anywhere and that a hundred thousand swordsmen from the people of Kūfa, Basra and Khorasan would support him against the Umayyads. At first, Zayd did not pay attention to what they said, and then he was convinced to return to Kūfa by believing the oath of this group. In 121/739, Zayd b. ʿAli secretly began preparations for rebellion in Kūfa, and about fifteen thousand people from Madāin, Basra, Wāsit, Mosul, Khorasan, Ray and Jurjān pledged allegiance to him, in addition to the followers of the sons of ʿAli who were present there.[285]

Zayd b. ʿAli, who wanted to carry this support he had found in Kūfa to further dimensions, sent dā'īs to various cities to demand allegiance to him. Among them, it is mentioned that two men, Abdah b. Kathīr al-Jaramī and Hasan b. Saʿd al-Faqīh, were sent to Khorasan.[286] However, the presence of the sons

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[283] Kummî-Nevbahtî, *Şiî Fırkalar*, 92-94; Gökalp, *Erken Dönem Zaydîlik*, 72 ff.; Watt, *İslâm Düşüncesinin Teşekkül Devri*, 228-29.

[284] al-Dīnawarī, gives the date of Zayd's rebellion as 118/736, which is an error. (See *al-Akhbāru al-Tiwāl*, 501.)

[285] Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 98.

[286] Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 107; The names of the people sent by Zayd ibn ʿAli to the Khorasan regions are not confirmed by other sources. Ibn al-Jawzī states that the people sent were directed to the Sawad and Mosul regions. This information should be more accurate. (See *al-Muntazam*, VII/210.)

of Abbas in Khorasan at the same time, who were trying to gather supporters with the slogan "al-Ridā min Āli Muhammad", seems to have made it difficult for Zayd to receive support from this region. As a matter of fact, we do not have sufficient information that Zayd received support from Khorasan for his rebellion in Kūfa.

Despite this, there is data supporting the idea that Zayd had followers in Khorasan during the rebellion. For example, during his efforts to locate Zayd, whom he had been pursuing during the rebellion, the Umayyad Governor Yusuf ibn ʿUmar al-Saqafī appointed Hakam ibn Abī al-Salt for this task. Hakam brought a slave from Khorasan and asked him to contact the Alid supporters and tell them, "I am one of your friends in Khorasan, I have brought you five thousand dirhams to spend and I want to give this money to Zayd." The slave went among the followers of Zayd and gave the money to Zayd. When he returned, he told Yusuf ibn ʿUmar where Zayd was.[287] This narration shows that the Umayyad administrators of the time were aware of the popular support for the Alid supporters in Khorasan.

The rebellion that Zayd b. ʿAli started without making the necessary planning and without preparation resulted in his death by the Umayyads in 122/740. This situation had a deep impact on the people of Khorasan who supported him. The killing of Zayd strengthened the hand of the revolutionary movement that had been progressing in secret organizations in Khorasan until that day. It is stated that people started to openly talk about the oppressions of the Umayyads in public places. It is even said that there was not a single town in Khorasan

[287] al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, VII/188.

where the news of Zayd's death did not reach and his name was not mentioned.[288]

Another effect of the killing of Zayd b. ʿAli on Khorasan was that most of his remaining supporters left Kūfa and took refuge in different parts of Khorasan, where they spread Zayd's ideas. After Zayd died, some of them came to his son Yahyā and advised him, "The people of Khorasan are Shīʿa, go there!" which is an indication that these ideas had gained ground in Khorasan.[289]

After the murder of his father, Yaḥyā ibn Zayd, with a few people, went to Madain on the way to Khorasan. When the governor Yusuf b. ʿUmar heard that he was hiding in Madain, he sent Hārith b. Abī al-Jahm al-Kalbī to capture him. Yahyā was hiding in the house of a dihqan from the nobles of the city in Madain. This situation is noteworthy as it shows that some of those who helped Yahyā belonged to the upper classes of the city. When Hārith reached Madain, Yahyā left there and went first to Ray and then to Sarakhs. At that time, a group of Kharijites came to Yahyā and asked him to support them in their rebellion against the Umayyads. When Yahyā initially wanted to accept this request under this pressure, Yazīd b. Amr dissuaded him by saying, "How can you want to cooperate with those who destroyed ʿAli and his family?" The Kharijites' request for such a thing was the result of their instinct to act together against a common enemy. Yahyā, who did not accept such an alliance, went to Balkh after Sarakhs.[290]

According to Abū Mihnaf's narration, Yahyā stayed in Balkh with Harīsh b. ʿAmr until Hisham b. Abd al-Mālik died in 125/743 and Walīd b. Yazīd (d. 126/744) became caliph. Up-

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[288] al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, II/228.

[289] al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, VII/189; Wellhausen, *Arab Devleti ve Sukutu*, 237.

[290] Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 112.

on hearing about the situation, Yusuf b. ʿUmar wrote a letter to Nasr b. Sayyar and asked for Yahyā's capture. Nasr assigned ʿUkayl b. Maʿkal al-Ijlī to capture Yahyā. ʿUkayl found him and brought him to Nasr b. Sayyar. When Walīd was informed of Yahyā's capture, he asked him to release them so as not to cause sedition. So, Nasr released Yahyā and his companions in exchange for two thousand dirhams.[291]

After leaving there, Yahyā went to Sarakhs and stayed with the zakat administrator Abdullah ibn Kays. Yahyā, who was forced to leave there again under pressure from Nasr, went to Bayhaq. Fearing that Nasr would kill him, Yahyā first went to Nīshābur and then to Balkh. Nasr's men defeated Yahyā's 120-man force near Jawzjan and killed him in the month of Ramadan 125/743 and hung his head at the Jawzjan gate.[292] When the Abbasids came to power, Abū Muslim took down Yahyā from where he was hanging in Jawzjan in 132/749 and killed those who were alive who were involved in his death and tortured the living relatives of the dead.[293]

After Zayd b. ʿAli, the killing of Yahyā by the Umayyads in-

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[291] al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, VII/228; al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 98-99; Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 112-113; An incident narrated after Yahyā's release from prison, and probably narrated in an exaggerated manner, is interesting in terms of showing the love felt for the sons of ʿAli in the region. According to the narration, after Yahyā was released from Nasr's dungeon, a group of rich Shīʿites from Khorasan came to the blacksmith who unchained him and asked him for the chain wrapped around Yahyā's foot. When the blacksmith saw this eager group, he increased the price and sold it to this group for 20 thousand dirhams. They had links made from this chain and used it as stones for their rings as a blessing. (See Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 113.)

[292] al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, II/232; Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Zahab*, II/216-217.

[293] Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Zahab*, II/216; Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 115; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikh*, IV/472. It is a more accurate approach to think that this and similar stories, which are told about Zayd ibn ʿAli and that the funeral waited for many years, were designed to increase the impact of the event in people's minds.

creased the number of Hāshim supporters in Khorasan.[294] It is stated that after the Abbasids came to power, the people held a seven-day mourning for Yahyā and named the children born in Khorasan Yahyā or Zayd in order to keep this memory alive.[295] This situation shows the love of the people for the lineage of the Prophet, especially the Hāshimite family. In fact, when looked at carefully, it is seen that the early Shiʿism in Khorasan did not have the background that would require enthusiastic participation in Yahyā's rebellion. This shows that in the early 2nd/8th century, the people of Khorasan supported the Prophet and his family in terms of the need for an alternative administration based on justice due to the oppression of the Umayyads. However, the killing of Zayd and his son Yahyā led to the gathering of various Shīʿite sects around the Abbasid movement.[296]

The alliance formed by the al-Hāshimites as a whole to overthrow the Umayyad rule continued until 132/749, when Abū al-Abbas Saffah, a member of the Abbasid family, proclaimed the fall of the Umayyads and the beginning of a new era in the mosque of Kūfa. From this date onwards, the Hāshimite family, which had acted together until then, split into two as the Abbasids and the Alids when the power changed hands in favor of the sons of Abbas. The first actual struggle of this division emerged with the rebellion of Muhammad b. Abdullah Nafs al-Zakiyya, nicknamed Mahdī, one of the prominent members of the sons of ʿAli, in Medina in 145/762.

The rebellions of Muhammad b. Abdullah and then his brother Ibrahim aimed to mobilize the masses who were not happy with the Abbasid administration in the name of the "Imāmate of

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[294] al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī*, II/228.

[295] Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Zahab*, II/216.

[296] Abdulhusayn Zarrinkub, "The Arab Conquest of Iran and Its Aftermath", *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge University Press, 2008, IV/37.

the descendants of ʿAli".[297] It has been claimed that this group was supported by the Zaydis, who regarded resistance to oppressive rule as a religious matter, as well as many members[298] of the Hāshimites' branch of Hasan, Husayn and Jaʿfar b. Abī Tālib, and Shiʿite groups known for their extremist views, such as Mughīre b. Saʿīd and Bayān b. Samān. [299]

Although Muhammad b. Abdullah chose Medina as the center of his movement, he traveled to many places such as Sindh, Kūfa, Yemen, Egypt, and Basra and made invitations on his behalf.[300] It is seen that there was strong support for his movement, especially in the Khorasan region, along with these regions. In order to capture him, Caliph Mansur sent letters to his father Abdullah on behalf of his followers in Khorasan.[301] Knowing well that he had gained his own power thanks to the support of Khorasan, the Abbasid Caliph Mansur was concerned about the potential for Khorasan to always lean towards the sons of ʿAli.[302] In fact, Ibn al-Athīr, while narrating the events of 144/761, mentions that the governor of Khorasan wrote a letter to Caliph Mansur and that the people of Khorasan wanted Muhammad b. Abdullah to rebel against the Abbasids and that they intended to fight under his banner. Caliph Mansur, instead of directly confronting the people of Khorasan,

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[297] Büyükkara, *İmamet Mücadelesi ve Haşimoğulları*, 31.

[298] el-Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 183-84; F. Buhl, "Muhammad ibn Abd Allah", *EI²*, Leiden 1993, VII/388; Büyükkara, *İmamet Mücadelesi ve Haşimoğulları*, 31; However, it has also been argued that it is not possible for Mughīra to support Muhammad ibn Abdullah as of the date. (See Ethem Ruhi Fığlalı, *İmâmiyye Şiası*, 2. Baskı, Ağaç Kitabevi Yay., İstanbul 2008, 157.

[299] Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 197-200; Ibn al-Athir records that two sons of Zayd ibn ʿAli, named Husayn and ʿAli, also supported the rebellion of Muhammad ibn Abdullah. (See *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikḫ*, V/162.)

[300] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikḫ*, V/140.

[301] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikḫ*, V/139.

[302] Henri Laost, *İslam'da Ayrılıkçı Görüşler*, tr. E. Ruhi Fığlalı-Sabri Hizmetli, Ankara 1999, 80.

found it more appropriate to deceive the people of Khorasan with a political maneuver and make them change their minds. For this purpose, he sent the severed head of Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Amr ibn ʿUthman ibn Affan, who was Abdullah ibn Hasan ibn Hasan's maternal half-brother (their mother was Husayn's daughter Fātima), to Khorasan, in order to create the impression that this was the head of Muhammad ibn Abdullah.[303] With this action, Mansur aimed to break the resistance of the people of Khorasan and was largely successful in this.[304]

When Muhammad b. Abdullah was killed in Medina in 145/762, his brother Ibrahim took over Basra, Ahvaz and part of southern Khorasan and began preparations for a new rebellion.[305] It is certain that there was participation and support from Khorasan in this rebellion, which greatly troubled the Abbasid government. However, this issue remains unclear in the sources.[306]

After Ibrahim, we encounter the rebellion of Muhammad b. Abdullah's other brother, Yahyā b. Abdullah. Yahyā, who rebelled during the time of Harun al-Rashid, was known as a pious person who narrated hadith from his father and many people from the Ahl al-Bayt, especially Jaʿfar al-Sādiq.[307] Yahyā first went to Iraq and Ray, then to Khorasan and Jurjān, and gathered many supporters wherever he went. Yahyā, who stayed in various cities of Khorasan for about three years, left here and went to Transoxiana, where he resided for more than two

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303 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikḫ*, V/145.

304 A similar incident took place during the reign of Husayn ibn ʿAli, who was known as ''Sāhibu Fahh' and rebelled against the Abbasids in 169/786. Caliph al-Khādī sent the severed head of Husayn ibn ʿAli to Khorasan to intimidate the Shīʿites in the region. (See Ethem Ruhi Fığlalı, "Hüseyin b. Ali, Sâhibü Fah", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1998, XVIII/525.)

305 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārikḫ*, V/170-173.

306 For information on these rebellions and their supporters, see Ümit, *Zeydiyye-Mutezile Etkileşimi*, 103-127.

307 Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 323; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 321.

years and converted many people to Islam. Yahyā then came to Tabaristan via Qomis, and after receiving permission to reside there from the Sultan of Daylam, with the encouragement of many supporters, he called for rebellion against the Abbasid caliphate in 176/792.[308] Harun al-Rashīd, who heard about this and did not want the rebellion to grow further, wrote a letter to Yahyā through Fadl b. Barmaqī, informing him that he had given Yahyā amnesty, and resolved the rebellion peacefully.[309] After the peace was made, Yahyā retreated to Medina and died there in unknown circumstances.[310]

One of the Zaydī rebellions that took place in Khorasan in the 3rd/9th century was the one started by Muhammad b. Qāsim[311] in 219/834. Muhammad b. Qāsim was initially an ascetic, pious and jurist who attended the mosque of the Messenger of Allah in Medina and did not appear to be involved in any political struggle.[312] It is stated that a person named Abū Muhammad from the people of Khorasan convinced him and made him accept that there was no one else worthy of the Imāmate. Then he brought him what he had obtained from the pilgrims of Khorasan and ensured that they also paid allegiance. Seeing that the number of people paying allegiance to him was increasing and following the advice of those around him, Muhammad b. Qāsim went to Jawzjan with his supporters. Abū

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[308] Laoust, *İslam'da Ayrılıkçı Görüşler*, 90-91.

[309] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, V/291

[310] It is also mentioned that he died of torture and starvation in the prison of Harun al - Rashid. (See Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 337; al-Bukhārī, *Sırru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 34; Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-Ansāb,* I/329; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, V/291.)

[311] His identity is Muhammad ibn Qāsim ibn ʿAli ibn ʿUmar al-Ashraf ibn ʿAli ibn Husayn ibn ʿAli ibn Abī Tālib. (See al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 92.)

[312] Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, from the Zaydiyya who followed the school of just and monotheistic thought. He mentions him as someone who follows the views of Jārudiyya. (See *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 393.)

Muhammad called on the people to pay allegiance to him and in a short time a large crowd formed around him. According to Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, he had reached a force of about 40 thousand people. Then his supporters took him to a village of Marw, which was said to be entirely Shīʿa, and hid him in a castle. After a while, when he had a disagreement with his people, he left there and went[313] to Taleqan.[314] He rebelled by declaring his Imāmate in Taleqan. He was defeated as a result of the struggles he had with the commanders of Abdullah ibn Tāhir and fled to other regions of Khorasan with whom he had previously corresponded. The governor of Nasa captured Muhammad ibn Qāsim and sent him to Abdullah ibn Tāhir, who sent him to Mutasim. In Wasit after being imprisoned by Mutasim, he escaped and was never traced again.[315] It is mentioned that Muhammad b. Qāsim's influence on the Zaydīs was seen even in the fourth century. According to al-Masʿūdī, in 322/933, in Kūfa, Jibāl, Tabāristan, Daylam, and many cities in Khorasan, some people, mostly Zaydīs, believed in his imāmate, even that he was not dead and that he was the promised messiah. This is because of his disappearance after his escape from prison.[316]

It is understood that the Zaydiyya established contact with Khorasan after its emergence as a theological sect[317] with Qāsim al-Rassī (d. 246/860). The contact in this region was mostly through Ray and Tabaristan. It is known that he had followers in Mecca, Medina, Kūfa, Basra and Daylaman as well as in

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313 Taleqan is a city of Khorasan, located between Marw and Balkh. (See Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al- Buldān*, IV/6.)

314 Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 393-401; Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 218.

315 al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya,* 92; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, VI/15.

316 Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Zahab*, II/466; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam*, VII/213; Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyu' der Iran*, 274.

317 On about Qāsim al-Rassī and its place in Zaydī thought, see Ümit, *Zeydiyye-Mutezile Etkileşimi,* 163-217.

the Ray region of Khorasan during his lifetime and that he carried the ideas of the sect to these regions. It is said that before the Zaydī state was established in Tabaristan, the first person to carry the Zaydī creed to the region was Jaʿfar b. Muhammad an-Nayrūsī al-Tabarī, one of Qāsim al-Rassī's disciples. [318]

Ismāʿīlī Activities

Ismāʿilism, considered one of the three most important branches of Shīʿa, was born in Khorasan and spread to other regions from there.[319] The most important center of the Ismāʿīlī daʿwah in the Khorasan region was Ray and its surroundings. In addition to Ray's politically complex situation, the support of Shiʿism by the Mādarānī[320] who dominated the city in the late 3rd/9th century and the positive atmosphere that emerged as a result of this played a role in the Ismāʿilis' adoption of this city as their headquarters.

Ismāʿilism, Muhammad b. Ismāʿil and the following secret Imāms migrated to Khorasan from the 2nd/8th century onwards and continued the dawah there.[321] However, it does not seem possible to establish an uninterrupted connection between these individuals and the dawah movement that emerged in the middle of the 3rd/9th century and exhibited an organized structure.[322] We

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[318] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 87.

[319] Stern, "The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries", 189; Wilferd Madelung, "İsmâ'îlîlik: Eski ve Yeni Davet", tr. Muzaffer Tan, *Dinî Arastırmalar,* 9/25 (Ankara 2006), 281.

[320] Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*, III/121.

[321] Muzaffer Tan, "Horasan ve Maveraünnehir'de İlk İsmâ'îlî Faaliyetler", *Dinî Araştırmalar,* X/30 (Eylül-Aralık 2007), 59; It is known that Muhammad ibn Ismāʿil first came to Ray and then to Damawand and that his children settled in the Khorasan region. (See al-Juwaynī, *Tārīkh-e Jahangūshā-yı Juwaynī*, III/146-7); It is understood that the first person to migrate from Husaynid Sādāt to the Qom region was Husayn ibn Husayn ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muhammad ibn Ismāʿil ibn Jaʿfar al-Sādiq and that he lived during the time of Hasan al-ʿAskarī. (See Qommī, Tārīkh-e Qom, 306-308.)

[322] Avcu, *Horasan-Maveraünnehir'de İsmaililik*, 110.

do not have sufficient information about the early periods of the Ismāʿilis in Khorasan, because they were very careful about secrecy in spreading their views. Nevertheless, it is known that in the early periods, there was a movement that carried out secret da'wah activities in Ray, Nīshābur and various places in Transoxiana, independently of Iraq.[323] However, information about the activities of the Ismāʿilis in the eastern lands, especially in Khorasan, has reached us today mostly through non-Ismāʿili sources.

According to the information given by Nizam al-Mulk, the Ismāʿili call began when Abdullah b. Meymun al-Qaddāh sent a man named Khalaf to Ray and its environs. Khalaf, who was active here for a while, left his son Ahmad in his place. Later, a man named Ghiyas met Ahmad, which gave the movement a new direction. Ghiyas's intensive propaganda with his work *Kitāb al-Bayān* led to the spread of the movement in Qom, Qāshān and Āba and the increase of its supporters, and as a result, Ghiyas had to flee to Khorasan when the reaction of some people in the region increased. Here, the movement gained significant power with the acceptance of the call by some rulers and spread rapidly throughout Khorasan.[324] After Ghiyas, one of Khalaf's descendants took over the leadership of the Ismāʿilis in Ray, but this da'i soon died after appointing his son, Abū Jaʿfar al-Kabīr, as his successor. After the short leadership of Abū Jaʿfar, the leader of the daʿwah was Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/934). Abū Ḥātim, who grew stronger in a short time, strengthened the movement especially in the regions of Jurjān, Tabaristan and Azarbaijan and rapidly increased the number of his followers. [325]

The Ismāʿīlī movement experienced a significant fracture in

[323] Madelung, "İsmâ'îlîlik: Eski ve Yeni Davet", 282.
[324] Nizamulmülk, *Siyasetname*, 298-99; Stern, "The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries", 195.
[325] Tan, "Horasan ve Maveraünnehir'de İlk İsmâ'îlî Faaliyetler" , 63-64.

289/899 and split into two. The first of these was the group that did not accept that Muhammad b. Ismāʿil would return as the Mahdī, but accepted the Imāmate and Mahdīhood of ʿUbaydullah, and was later known as the Fātimids; the other was the group that continued to believe in the return of Muhammad b. Ismāʿil. The first group was organized in Egypt, Maghreb and Yemen, while the second, known as the Qarmatians, continued its existence in Iraq and Bahrain, as well as in Iran and Khorasan in general. However, the organized structure of the Fātimids, who brought a new dimension to the invitation towards the end of the 4th/10th century, managed to include the invitation in Iran within its own structure.[326]

The identity of the first person who carried the daʿwah to Khorasan and started the activities there is controversial in the sources. While al-Baghdādī states that the daʿwah was started by al-Shaʿrānī in Nīshābur,[327] it is also mentioned that it started with Abū Abdullah al-Hādim.[328] Although it was previously mentioned that Ghiyas came to Khorasan first, it is understood that Abū Abdullah started the dawah activities that were re-established on behalf of the Fātimids.[329] After Abū Abdullah al-Hādim, al-Shaʿrānī became the leader of the movement. According to al-Baghdādī, al-Shaʿrānī, who was residing in Nīshābur, was killed during the governorship of Abū Bakr al-Mukhtaj.[330] After Shaʿrānī, Husayn ibn ʿAli al-Marwazī was appointed as the head of the invitation. Al-Marwazī, who carried out important activities in the region on behalf of the Ismāʿilis, appointed Muhammad ibn

[326] Madelung, "İsmâ'îlîlik: Eski ve Yeni Davet", 289.
[327] el-Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 220.
[328] Stern, "The Early Ismail Missionaries", 216.
[329] Stern, "The Early Ismail Missionaries", 217; Tan, "Horasan ve Maveraünnehir'de İlk İsmâ'îlî Faaliyetler", 65.
[330] el-Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 220.

Ahmad al-Nasafī (d. 332/943) in his place before his death.[331] He is one of the most important figures who introduced the Ismāʿili movement in Khorasan, especially to Neoplatonic philosophy, and who presented the first work of the Ismāʿili understanding of the universe with his work *Kitāb al-Mahsūl,* written at the beginning of the 4th/10th century .

Ismāʿili movement in Khorasan remained under the Fātimid caliphate for about a century. During this period, Nāsir Khusraw (d. 481/1088), who was born in the city of Balkh in Khorasan, became one of the most important representatives of the Ismāʿili invitation and left a generation that would pass on his works to the next generations in the Badakhshan mountains of Khorasan, where he spent most of his life.[332]

Imāmi Manifestations

In comparison to other Shiʿite sects, the Imāmiyya holds a distinctive significance in the context of our study. While the Imāmiyya emerged in Iraq and its neighboring regions, the fact that the formation process of this sect became evident in Khorasan and that the official sect of contemporary Iran is the Imāmiyya Shīʿa necessitates further examination of its roots in this region.

We have already mentioned that after the Karbalā incident, various currents of opinion formed around the name of Muhammad b. al-Khanafiyya, the son of ʿAli, whereas ʿAli b. Husayn Zayn al-Abidin, Muhammad al-Bāqir, and his son Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, who are in the Imām chain of the Imāmiyya, did not engage in any political activity. They were respected by many people in their time and were known to have devoted themselves to schol-

331 Stern, "The Early Ismail Missionaries", 229.

332 Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, Muassesāt al-Imām al-Sādiq, Qom 1424/2003, II/258-60.

arly endeavors.[333] Muhammad al-Bāqir, in particular, focused on the narration of hadith and the study of jurisprudence, which earned him a respected place in many Islamic cultural centers, especially in the Hijaz.[334] Shiʿi sources recognize the period of Muhammad al-Bāqir as a time when the Imāmis differentiated themselves from other groups.[335] They state that although they had different political views until that period, they did not have a separate position from the main body, especially in jurisprudential matters, and that for the first time with Muhammad al-Bāqir, a mass began to form that followed the Imām in matters such as halal, haram, pilgrimage, etc.[336] Among this group, Shiʿite sources mention the names of some of Muhammad al-Bāqir's companions from Khorasan who were engaged in the narration of hadith.[337] However, it is not known what kind of connection these people had with Khorasan.

After the death of Muhammad al-Bāqir in 114/732, his son Jaʿfar al-Sādiq continued his father's path and became one of the most prominent figures in science.[338] The period in which

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333 Fığlalı, *İmâmiyye Şiası*, 172.

334 Arzina L. Lalani, *Early Shii Thought The Teaching of Imām Muhammad al-Bâqir*, I. B. Tauris Publishers, London-New York 2000,107.

335 Husayn Mudarrisī, *Maktab der Farāyand-i Takāmul; Nazarī bar Tatawwur-e Mabāniye Fikrī-ye Tashayyuʿ dar Seh Qarn-e Nakhostīn*, tr. Hāshim Izdpenāh, Kāvir, Tehran 1389/2010, 32.

336 al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 304; Muhammad Bāqir ibn Muhammad Taqī al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, 2nd edition, Dāru Ikhyā al-Turāsi al-Arabī, Beirut 1403/1982, XXIII/90.

337 Among them were 'A'yan al-Rāzī, Dāwūd ibn Abī Hind al-Qushayrī al-Sarahsī, al-Hajjāj ibn Irṭāt, Ishaq al-Qommī, Muḥammad ibn Elyesa ibn Hamza al-Qommī, Sāmit Bayya' al-Herawī, Sallām ibn Abî 'Amra al-Khorasānī, Salman b. Khālid Talha al-Qommī, Yaḥyā ibn Abī' al-Alā al-Rāzī, Yazīd ibn Muhammad al-Nisābūrī. (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 98, 127, 234; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 126, 134, 133, 126, 146, 138, 218, 137, 149; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 185, 424-425.)

338 For detailed information about the scientific personality of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, see Mehmet Atalan, *Şîîliğin Farklılaşma Sürecinde Cafer es-Sâdık*, Araştırma yay., Ankara 2014, 85-183.

Jaʿfar al-Sādiq lived witnessed some new developments in Khorasan. In this period, the strong opposition movement against the Umayyads gave birth to the Abbasid power. The success of the Abbasids in Khorasan as a Khāshimite movement was the result of the region's close interest in the Prophet's family. This interest manifested itself sometimes in the Abbasid family and sometimes in the Tālibid family. Although the slogan of "al-Ridā min Āl al-Muhammad" had been emphasized in order to unite the various groups that emerged in Khorasan, what most Khorasanīs understood from this slogan, which was the main starting point of the rebellion, was primarily the sons of ʿAli.[339] As a matter of fact, the leader of the Abbasid movement, Muhammad b. ʿAli, stated that when sending his callers to Khorasan, they should pay particular attention to a man named Ghālib in Nīshābur because he was known for his affection for the "Fātimid family".[340] Since the Fatimid family here refers to the Prophet ʿAli's offspring by Fātimah, it confirms the idea that there were groups that had a special interest in the ʿAli lineage, apart from a general affection for the Khāshimites at the time when the Abbasids were preparing for a revolution. For this reason, the Abbasids did not declare on whose behalf they were acting until they succeeded, so as not to lose the support of the pro-sons of ʿAli groups.

Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, despite having good thoughts about Zayd b. ʿAli during the same period, did not support his rebellion and even tried to dissuade him from this rebellion. However, despite not supporting the rebellion, he was interested in news about Zayd and tried to learn about his fate. When the news that his son Yahyā went to Khorasan and was preparing to re-

[339] Büyükkara, *İmamet Mücadelesi ve Haşimoğulları*, 34.
[340] al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, VII/49-50.

bel after Zayd was conveyed to Jaʿfar, he said that he would be killed like his father.[341] This situation shows that Jaʿfar al-Sādiq was aware of the support for the ʿAli lineage in Khorasan, but he had no political expectations for himself, and that he believed that the existing love for them among the people would make it difficult for him to achieve success with unplanned actions. In this context, we have no information that Jaʿfar al-Sādiq or the people around him had any political connections with the groups in Khorasan that gave special importance to the ʿAli lineage.

When the revolutionary movement led by the Abbasids in Khorasan was successful, Abū Salama, one of the commanders operating in the region, sent letters to the leading figures of the ʿAli lineage, asking them to take over the Imāmate.[342] The following dialogue between Abdullah b. Hasan and Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, who were among those to whom the letter was sent, is noteworthy, shedding light on the nature of the organization in Khorasan: After reading the letter he received, Abdullah b. Hasan went to Jaʿfar al-Sādiq and said to him: "This letter came to me from Abū Salama to accept the caliphate, and our supporters are on his side in Khorasan."Jaʿfar al-Sādiq asked him: "Since when did the people of Khorasan become your supporters? Did you send Abū Muslim to Khorasan? Did you also tell them to wear black clothes? Are you the reason why those who entered Iraq entered, or did you send someone to them, or do you know anyone who went there?"[343]

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[341] al-Shahristānī, *al-Milal wa al-Nihal*, 153; see also Atalan, *Şiîliğin Farklılaşma Sürecinde Cafer es-Sâdık*, 157-162.

[342] Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Zahab*, II/258; Bozkurt, *Oluşum Sürecinde Abbasî İhtilali*, 87-90.

[343] Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Zahab*, II/258-259; Abū Salama asked Jaʿfar al-Sādiq to take the first of the letters to Abdullah ibn Hasan if he did not accept it, and to ʿUmar ibn ʿAli ibn Husayn if he did not accept it. When ʿUmar was asked to reply to the letter that came to him, he did not reply, saying that he did not know

If the narration is accepted as true, Jaʿfar al-Sādiq says that there is no group in Khorasan that is directly loyal to him and defends his own Imāmate. He also emphasizes that Abdullah b. Hasan, another member of the sons of ʿAli, does not have any right in this movement in Khorasan. This situation shows that Jaʿfar al-Sādiq closely followed the political developments, but the political struggle carried out in Khorasan on behalf of the Hāshimids had nothing to do with him. It is also possible to interpret Jaʿfar al-Sādiq's interest in the political movements in Khorasan around his own lineage as not supporting these activities in order to protect his own supporters or even to open a new front outside of politics.

Jaʿfar al-Sādiq's moderate community, which focused on staying away from political activities and was active in scientific studies, was represented in the Khorasan region during this period. We see that this connection, which began to be established during the time of his father Muhammad al-Bāqir, increased considerably during his time and that there was a significant increase in the number of people around him who had connections with Khorasan. Shīʿite sources give the names of the following people around him who were somehow connected to Khorasan:

Abdurrazzaq b. Ibrahim al-Khorasanī,[344] Abū Ishaq al-Khorasanī,[345] Abū Ayyūb al- Khorasanī,[346] Abū al-Fadl al-Kho-

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the owner of the letter. (See Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Tabātabā Ibn Taqtaqī, *al-Fahrī fi al-Adābi al-Sultāniyya wa al-Duwāl al-Islamiyya,* thk. Abdulqadir Muhammad Mâyû, Dāru al-Qalami'l-Arabî, Beirut 1418/1997, 151-152.)

[344] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī, 243.*

[345] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 316.

[346] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 322; He was also among the companions of Mūsā al-Kāzim. (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 383.)

rasanī,[347] Abū Saʿīd al-Khorasanī,[348] Jibilla al-Khorasanī,[349] Husayn b. al-Hurr al-Khorasanī,[350] Ishaq b. Bishr Huzayfa al-Khorasanī,[351] Muhammad b. al-Fadl b. Atiyya al-Khorasanī,[352] Muhammad b. Ishaq al-Khorasanī,[353] Muqātil b. Sulayman al-Khorasanī,[354] Nuh b. Abī Maryam al-Khorasanī,[355] ʿUkba b. Sālih al-Khorasanī,[356] Ushaim b. Abdullah Abū Sālih al-Khorasanī,[357] Zuhayr b. Mahmud (Muhammad) al-Khorasanī,[358] Sālih Khorasanī,[359] Ziyād b. Saʿd al-Khorasanī,[360] Abdurrahim b. Sulaiman al-Rāzī,[361] Abū al-Mutahhir Atıyye b. Najīh al-Rāzī,[362] Jarīr b. Abdulhamid al-Dabbī,[363] Abū Hilal al-Rāzī,[364] Hisham b. Musanna al-Rāzī,[365] Isa b. Māhān al-Rāzī,[366] Nuʿman al-Rāzī,[367] Abdulmalik ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī,[368] Adam ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-

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347 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī, 370*.
348 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 315; Shaykh Tūsī, ʿAli al-Ridā's son He is listed in the chain of companions and indicates that he is an unknown person. (See. *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 370.)
349 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī, 177*.
350 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 204.
351 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 162; It is mentioned that he was Sunnī. (See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 70.)
352 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī, 292*.
353 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 157.
354 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī, 306*.
355 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 314.
356 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 261.
357 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 166.
358 He resides in Mecca. (See, Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 210.)
359 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 225.
360 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 208.
361 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 237.
362 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 264.
363 He was from Kūfa and lived in Ray. (See, Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 177.)
364 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 323.
365 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 320.
366 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī, 258*.
367 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 327.
368 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 183; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijal al-Tūsī,* 238.

Ashʿarī al-Qommī,[369] Hamza ibn Elyasa al-Qommī,[370] Idris ibn Abdullah al-Qommī,[371] Imran b. Abdullah al-Ashʿarī Qommī,[372] Isa (Abū Bakr) b. Abdullah b. Saʿd al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī,[373] Ishaq b. Abdullah al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, [374] Mūsā b. Abdullah b. Saʿd al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī,[375] Shuayb b. Abdullah al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī,[376] Ya'qūb b. Abdullah b. Sad al-Ashʿarī,[377] Zakariya b. Idris al-Qommī, [378] Zakariyā b. Adam al-Qommī,[379] Āiz b. Nubāta al-Ahmasī al-Kūfī Bayyāʿ al-Harawī,[380] Hasan Bayyāʿ al-Harawī,[381] Ibrahim b. Maymūn Bayyaʿ al-Harawī,[382] Sayf Bayyāʿ al-Harawī al-Kūfī,[383] ʿUmar b. Harun b. Yazīd al-Balkhī al-Sakafī,[384] Abū Hafs Salm b. Sālim al-Balkhī,[385] Hālid b. Ayyūb al-Balkhī, Hārija b. Musʿab al-Khorasanī al-Tamīmī al-Marwazī,[386] Muhammad b. Shujāʿ al-Marwazī,[387] Abdulh-

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[369] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 207; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 156.

[370] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 190; He is also among the companions of Mūsā al-Kāzim. (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 350; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 335.)

[371] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijal al-Tūsī,* 163.

[372] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 236-237; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 257.

[373] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 230; al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 236-237; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 265.

[374] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 216; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 162.

[375] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 227; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 301.

[376] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 222.

[377] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 219.

[378] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 210; He is also a companion of ʿAli al-Ridā. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 358.)

[379] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 210; He is also a companion of ʿAli al-Ridā. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 358); He is also a companion of Muhammad al-Jawâd. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 375; al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī,* 419-421; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 170-171.)

[380] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijal al - Tūsī,* 262.

[381] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 203; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 196.

[382] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 210; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 167.

[383] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 222.

[384] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 266; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 254.

[385] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 219.

[386] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 200.

[387] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 286.

amid al-Jurjānī,[388] Saʿīd b. Saʿīd al-Jurjānī,[389] Muhammad b. Mansur al-Jurjānī,[390] Ishaq Abū Harun al-Jurjānī.[391] Muhlid b. Burayd al-Nīshāburī.[392]

When these individuals are examined one by one, it is seen that the majority of their names are mentioned in only one source, and that the majority are unknown individuals who do not have any narrations in the Shīʿite hadith books through these narrators. If there really are individuals with these names, it is thought that they were of Khorasan origin, but probably lived in Kūfa or Medina, and that those who did not live near Jaʿfar al-Sādiq may have come together with him and participated in his teaching circles, especially during the Hajj period.

During the reign of Mūsā al-Kāzim, whom the Imāmiyya regarded as the seventh Imām, it was expected that the number of Khorasanian narrators would increase in parallel with the growth of the Imāmite community; however, this did not happen, and the number of Khorasanian narrators remained quite limited when compared to the period of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq. Mūsā al-Kāzim's lack of a charismatic personality like his father and his constant surveillance by the Abbasids may have played a role in this. During this period, Shiʿite sources mention the following names among the Khorasanians who were active around Mūsā al-Kāzim:

Abdulaziz b. al-Muhtadī al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī,[393] Muham-

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[388] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 186; His name is not found in other early biographical sources. (See Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim al-Mūsawī Khūyī, *Muʿjam Rijāl al-Hadith*, 1992, IX/281.)

[389] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 214.

[390] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 294.

[391] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 162.

[392] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 239.

[393] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 370; He is also a companion of ʿAli al-Ridā. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 360; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 235.)

mad b. al-Hasan b. Abī Khālid al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī,[394] Saʿd b. ʿImran al-Qommī,[395] Abu Jarīr al-Qommī,[396] Hasan b. Jahm al-Rāzī,[397] Husayn b. Muhammad al-Qommī,[398] Ibrahim b. Abī Mahmud Khorasānī,[399] Muhammad b. Jaʿfar al-Qommī, [400] Mūsā b. Ibrahim al-Marwazī,[401] Saʿd b. Saīd al-Balkhī, [402] Ziyād b. Sulayman al-Balkhī.[403]

When these individuals are examined, it is seen that the individuals attributed to the cities of Qom and Ray became apparent during the period of Mūsā al-Kāzim.

As a result, it is seen that until the end of the 2nd/8th century, the representation of the Imāmi groups in Khorasan was mostly based on Arab people who migrated from Kūfa and the Hijaz region. This situation continued until the migration of ʿAli al-Ridā, who is accepted as the eighth Imām, to Khorasan, after which the influence of the mawālī in the region increased. It is possible to say that in the following period, the Imāmi community began to gain popularity among Arab immigrants and mawālī in various cities of Khorasan such as Bayhaq, Tūs, Nīshābur and Marw.[404]

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394 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 376.
395 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 338.
396 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 347.
397 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 382. He wrote a book titled *Kitāb al-Takhtalif al-Riwāyāt*. He is a companion of ʿAli al-Ridā. (See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 51.)
398 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 335.
399 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 384; He is a Siqa, the owner of the book, he narrated from ʿAli al-Ridā. (See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 26.)
400 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 370.
401 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 343; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 389.
402 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 338.
403 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 337.
404 Zarrīnkūb, *Tārīkh-e Merdom-e-Irān*, II/151; Syed Waheed Akhtar, *Early Shiʿite Imāmiyah Thinkers*, New Delhi 1988, 42.

ʿAli al-Ridā and His Heir Apparent

ʿAli al-Ridā was accepted as the Imām by a large section of society after the death of his father Mūsā al-Kāzim in 183/799, following divisions and disputes within the Imāmi community. There is very little information about ʿAli al-Ridā's period until he was invited to Khorasan in 200/815 and left Medina. He probably continued the tradition of not getting involved in political affairs and pursuing knowledge that he inherited from his grandfather and father during this period and lived a quiet life. There is a great deal of anecdotal information about his journey and life in Khorasan, starting from his invitation to Khorasan.[405] However, in any case, the developments that took place during his stay in Khorasan and afterwards contributed greatly to the spread and development of the Imāmi groups in Khorasan. [406]

The Abbasid caliph Ma'mun was residing in the city of Marw in Khorasan. Ma'mun, who governed a vast state from Maghreb to Khorasan, was shaken by the rebellions of the Alid in many parts of the country in the early years of his caliphate.[407] As a result of these rebellions, he made a strong maneuver in order to continue his power and called ʿAli b. Mūsā al-Ridā, who was

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[405] Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, II/290-302.

[406] In Shīʿite sources, parallels are drawn between the arrival of ʿAli in Kūfa and the arrival of ʿAli al-Ridā in Khorasan, emphasizing that both events were turning points in terms of the spread of Shiʿism. (See Kermānī, *Tārikh-e Tashayyūʿdar Irān*, 803; Büyükkara, *Ehl-i Beyt ve Ehl-i Devlet*, 428-429; M. Ashābī Dameghānī, *Tārīkhei Intishār-e Tashayyuʿdar Iran*, Qom 1350/1971, 43; Daftary, "Emeviler Döneminde ve Abbasîlerin İlk Dönemlerinde İran, Horasan ve Mâverâünnehir'deki Mezhebi ve Milliyetçi Hareketler", 149.

[407] Among the rebellions that pushed Ma'mun to approach the sons of ʿAli, the rebellions of Ibn Tabātabā in Kūfa, Zayd ibn Mūsā in Basra and Ahwaz, Ibrahim ibn Mūsā in Yemen, Ismail ibn Mūsā in Faris, Hasan ibn Aftas in Mecca, Muhammad ibn Sulayman in Madain, and Muhammad ibn Jaʿfar in Medina can be shown. (See Hāfız-e Abrū, *Coghrafya-ye Tārīkh-e Khorasan*, 62-63; Isfizārī, *Rawdāt al-Jannāt fī Awsāf Medīna Herāt*, 182-86.)

considered the leader of the Alid tribe with whom he had been in conflict until that day, to Khorasan and declared him the heir to the Abbasid throne after himself.[408] There are debates about the motives for such a development, which was unprecedented and unexpected even among the Alid groups.[409] However, it is certain that the declaration of ʿAli al-Ridā's the heir to the empire, for whatever reason, stopped the rebellions of the Alid tribe in various parts of the country and his relations with the government gained a new dimension.

During the three-year period (200-203/815-818) that ʿAli al-Ridā was in Khorasan, he carried out scientific studies, and these activities made him famous in the region and brought him together with many visitors from different cities. At the same time, his participation in the debates held in Ma'mun's palace, in which groups with different views participated, increased the number of his supporters.

Although some books such as *Fiqh al-Ridā*, *Usūl al-Dīn*, *Risāla al-Zahabiyya* and *Sahīfa al-Ridā/Musnad al-Ridā* are attributed to him. ʿAli al-Ridā in the Shīʿite tradition, it is not certain that these works belong to him;[410] however, some Shīʿite writers claimed that such books caused the start of the Imāmi intellectual movement in Khorasan.[411] However, we do not have sufficient data to support this claim.

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[408] Shaykh Sadūq, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā, I/290-1;* For a study evaluating the succession of ʿAli al-Ridā within the historical process, see Büyükkara, *Ehl-i Beyt ve Ehl-i Devlet,* 269-342; For a critical evaluation of the succession of ʿAli al-Ridā from the perspective of Imāmi political theory, see Metin Bozan, "Ali er-Rızâ'nın Veliahtlığı Meselesi (İmâmiyye'nin İmamet Nazariyesine Teori-Pratik Açısından Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım)", *Dini Araştırmalar*, VII/19 (2004), pp . 159-171.

[409] Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam,* 41.

[410] Brockelmann, *Tārīkh al-Adabī al-Arabī*, II/360-61; Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī,* III/282-85; For doubts about the attribution of the mentioned works to ʿAli al-Ridā, see Büyükkara, *Ehl-i Beyt ve Ehl-i Devlet*, 465-73.

[411] Habībī, *Tārīkh-e Afghānistan baʿd az Islām*, 804.

Wakala Organization

The deputy is a person appointed by the Imām who carries out financial affairs on behalf of the Imāms in the regions and centers where the Imāms are located.[412] Shīʿite sources state that these people appointed as deputies by the Imāms during the time the Imāms were alive were connected to each other through a network centered in the city where the Imām lived. They claim that the deputies had the authority to speak on religious matters on behalf of the Imāms in the regions where they were present, to convey the questions of the community members to the Imām, and most importantly, to accept the financial affairs of the Imāms such as zakat, khums, sacrifice, and votive offerings on behalf of the Imām and distribute them when necessary.[413] Since the Imāms were under the supervision of the government as long as they were alive, the members of this organization had to operate secretly. For this reason, the information we have on the subjects of who the people appointed as deputies were, what exactly their transactions were, and where their boundaries reached is quite limited. In this context, Khorasan is one of the places where the Wakīl is intensively active because it is far from the Hejaz and Iraq regions where the Imāms live. [414]

It is believed that the proxy organization first began to operate during the reign of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq as the Imāmi community increased in number and spread to various cities.[415] Although

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[412] Büyükkara, *Ehl-i Beyt ve Ehl-i Devlet*, 417; with the name deputy in the Imāmiyya tradition names such as Nāib, Sāfir, Qāim were also used. (See Mohammad Rezā Jabbārī, *Sāzmān-e Wakalah wa Naqsh-e Ān dar Asr-e Aimme (a.s.), I-II*, Muassasa-e Āmūzish Pajūhish-e Imām Khomeini (k.s.), Qom 1382/2003, I/35-40.

[413] Jabbārī, *Sāzmān-e Wakalah*, I/17.

[414] Büyükkara's work provides information about this organization during the periods of Mūsā al-Kāzim and ʿAli al-Ridā. (See *Ehl-i Beyt ve Ehl-i Devlet*, 417-432.)

[415] Jabbārī, *Sāzmān-e Wakalah*, I/47.

Jaʿfar al-Sādiq spent most of his life in Medina, most of those who considered him a master in jurisprudence and adopted his ideas and narrated from him were in Kūfa.[416] This necessitated that the relations between him and his community were often not direct but through people he appointed as his deputies. Therefore, naturally, one of the most important duties of the first deputies was to strengthen the relationship between the Imām and his followers in Kūfa. These deputies narrated the Imām's words, which were accepted as hadiths, answered the religious questions of the members of the community on behalf of the Imām, accepted economic obligations such as zakat, khums, votive offerings, sacrifices and gifts on behalf of the Imām and delivered them to those in need. While performing all these activities, they strictly observed secrecy in order to protect themselves from the monitoring and pressure of the government. The extraordinary powers that the deputies wielded on behalf of the Imām and the enormous religious and economic power they wielded sometimes led to disagreements between themselves and the Imām, sometimes to discussions about the identity of the new Imām when the Imām died and, when the time came, to influence the selection of the person who would become the Imām, and sometimes to act independently by not wanting to give up this power.

A thorough examination of the extant data does not reveal any evidence of a deputy assigned to Khorasan during the period in which Jaʿfar al-Sādiq was in power. However, this situation cannot be explained by the fact that there was no contact between the Khorasan region and the Imām, but rather that

[416] Jaʿfar al-Sādiq and his role in the development of Shiʿite hadith, see Ron P. Buckley, "Şiî Hadislerin Kaynağı olarak Cafer es-Sâdık", *Şîa'nın Hadis Anlayışı Üzerine İncelemeler*, tr. M. Macit Karagözoğlu, M. Enes Topgül, Klasik Yay., İstanbul 2015, pp. 41-67.

the Shīʿa community there did not yet feel the need for such an organization in terms of numbers. Indeed, the Abbasid caliph Mansur wanted to obtain information about the level of relations between Khorasan and the Imām by asking a man from Khorasan to take some goods to the Imām in Medina.[417]Although Shīʿa sources mention that some people were sent to Khorasan during the time of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq to invite him to his Imāmate, it is not possible to verify this information.[418] In another narration, it is reported that two Khorasanīans from among Jaʿfar al-Sādiq's companions set out to take some goods to Medina to the Imām, and that they met another person from the Imām's companions in Ray. According to the narration, the person in question gave two thousand dirhams in a purse to the people who went to the Imām and asked them to deliver it to the Imām. When they approached Medina, the two people noticed that the purse was missing and when they entered the Imām in a sad state, they saw that the purse was in front of him. According to the narration, the Imām assigned a "jinn" from his followers to bring the purse and that is how the purse arrived in front of him.[419] The aspect of the narration that seems to be narrated in a hagiographical manner that interests us is the identity of the person who is recorded as sending money to the Imām in Ray in a purse. It is unclear whether this person was the Imām's deputy in the city. However, judging by the flow of the narration, it seems more likely that the person sending the money was a person chosen and determined by the people themselves rather than a deputy appointed by the Imām him-

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417 al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, I/475.

418 Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Saffār Qommī, *al-Basāir al-Darajāt fī Fadāil Āl-e Muhammad,* thk. Muhsin b. Abbasali, 2nd edition, Maktabatu Āyatollah Marʿashī Najafī, Qom 1404/1984, 244.

419 al-Saffār Qommī, *al-Basāir al-Darajāt*, 99; Qutbuddin Rawandī, *al-Harāʾij wa al-Jarāʾih*, thk. Muesseset al-Imām Mahdî, Qom 1409/1988, II/777-8.

self. Although these narrations confirm the existence of some contacts between the Imām and the people of Khorasan, it is understood that the Imām community in Khorasan was probably not large enough in number to have a special deputy appointed by the Imām.

The Wakala organization took on a more organized and institutional structure in direct proportion to the increase in the number of the Imāmi community and their dispersal to various cities during the period of Mūsā al-Kāzim, and this structure was inherited by the later Imāms. However, in the light of the sources we have, it is seen that no special Wakīl was assigned to Khorasan during the period of Mūsā al-Kāzim.

The beginning of the wakala organization in Khorasan can be traced back to the time of ʿAli al-Ridā (d. 203/818). In this period, the city of Qom was probably among the first places in Khorasan where deputies were appointed. [420] The sources mention ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Muhtadī al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī as ʿAli al-Ridā's deputy in Qom. Parallel to the increase in the Imāmi community in Qom, the Imāms took a special interest in the city and there was an increase in the number of deputies appointed for various purposes.

The center of the proxy organization, which seems to have gained an institutional structure with the departure of ʿAli al-Ridā to Khorasan, was Khorasan for a while. In this period, two people named Ibrahim b. Salama[421] and Fadl b. Sinān[422] are mentioned as the deputies of the Imām in Nīshābur. Howev-

[420] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī,* 344. Although the same person, Mūsā al-Kāzim, is mentioned in the chain of companion, there is no information that he was his deputy. (Compare al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 370; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 360.)

[421] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 353; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 48.

[422] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 363; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 229.

er, there is no narration about the activities of these two individuals even in Shīʿite sources.

In the lifetime of Muhammad al-Jawād (d. 220/835), it appears that Musāfir and Sālih b. Muhammad were appointed as deputies to oversee the administration of the endowments in Qom. It is mentioned that Sālih b. Muhammad misused the properties entrusted to him and was therefore warned by the Imām.[423] During the period of Muhammad al-Jawād, there are narrations indicating that the Imam was closely interested in Qom and had a fast communication network regarding the status of the deputies there. When an army was sent by the Abbasids to the city of Qom in 210/825 during the reign of al-Ma'mun over a dispute over taxation and many people, including the Imām's deputy Yahyā b. Imran, were killed, the Imām immediately appointed Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Ḥamadānī, who was in Hamadān, to replace him.[424] However, considering that Muhammad al-Jawād was accepted as the imām at the age of 8 and died at the age of 25, it is more acceptable that his dispositions regarding this organization, which is claimed to have a strong network, were made not directly but through the people around him. The Shīʿite sources' emphasis on the Imām should be considered as a reflection of the extraordinary personality traits attributed to them later on.

ʿAli al-Hādī (d. 254/868), the constant surveillance of the Imām led to the deputies becoming privileged in the regions they were in. However, we cannot find any deputies' names specific to Khorasan during this period.

During the imāmate of Hasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/873), the activities of the Imāmi community accelerated and especially the

[423] al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, I/548; Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Ghayba li al-Hujja*, Qom 1411/1990, 213.

[424] Jabbārī, *Sāzmān-e Wakalah*, I/113.

contacts with Qom intensified. During this period, the deputy of the Imām, Ahmad b. Ishaq al-Ashʿarī, also took control of the foundations [425] in Qom. It is understood that Ahmad b. Ishaq, who frequently met with the Imām in Samarra, continued his duty as a representative during the period of the ambassadors. He was known with the title of "Wāfid al-Qommīyyīn (Ambassador of the Qommīs)" due to this characteristic.[426] We see that Ahmad b. Ishaq, who settled in Baghdād after a while, did not cut off his contact with Qommīs. It is mentioned that Hasan b. al-Nadr and Abū Sidām, who became representatives after him, played an active role in eliminating the hesitations of the ambassadors.[427]

Hasan al-ʿAskarī is mentioned that he appointed Ibrahim ibn Abdeh al-Nīshāburī as his deputy to resolve a financial problem that arose among his followers in Nīshābur and to receive the goods.[428] Hasan al-ʿAskarī later appointed Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Nīshāburi to resolve the conflicts among his followers here and to help Ibrahim ibn Abdeh.[429] It is seen that sometimes the Imām could also send special deputies in response to incidents that occurred among his followers in the city. One of them is the case in which he appointed a deputy named Ayyūb b. Nāb to resolve the dispute between the alleged members of the gulāt in Nīshābur and Fadl b. Shādhān (d. 260/873), one of the important scholars of the city.[430] The Imām asked his deputy to write a report on the situation and the deputy sent him the necessary report. The fact that the distribution of duties among the deputies during the reign of Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī shows

[425] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 306.
[426] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 88.
[427] al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, I/517-8; Jabbārī, *Sāzmān-e Wakalah*, I/114.
[428] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 407-410.
[429] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 407-410.
[430] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 383.

that this organization was fully institutionalized and that the Imāmi community in these cities increased in number and was closely monitored by the Imam or those around him.

Mahdī, who is accepted as the twelfth Imām by the Imāmi groups in the process that began with his occultation,[431] the Wakalah organization was continued in a different format by four people called "Safīr". In this context, the duties of the agents were added to the duties of preparing the Imāmi community for the Imām's occultation and the aftermath. [432] Such a duty shows that they played an important role in the establishment and spread of the Shīʿite understanding of Imāmate in the regions where they were located.[433]

During the reign of the third ambassador, Husayn b. Rūh al-Nawbakhtī, we see that there were direct contacts between the hadith scholars of Qom and the ambassador. Husayn b. Rūh al-Nawbakhtī had sent a book of hadith titled *al-Ta'dīb* to Qom to read and give an opinion on its authenticity. The hadith scholars of Qom confirmed all but one of the hadiths in the book and sent it back to the Safīr.[434]

The most important figure of this period is ʿAli b. Husayn al-Bābawayh (d. 309/922), although there is no direct information about his deputy. It is likely that a group of hadith scholars headed by ʿAli b. Husayn examined the book that was sent. The deputies assigned to Qom were probably interested not only in their own city but also in the neighboring towns of Āba

[431] In the Shīʿi Imāmiyya thought, ghaib is the belief that Hasan al-ʿAskarī had a son named Muhammad and that he would disappear for various reasons starting from 260/873 and reappear close to the apocalypse. For detailed information about the formation of the ghaib idea and the process of it becoming a principle of belief, see Hakyemez, *Şia'da Gaybet İnancı ve Gâib On İkinci İmam*, 137-219.

[432] Jabbārī, *Sāzmān-e Wakalah*, I/53-6.

[433] Bozan, *İmamiyye'nin İmamet Nazariyesi'nin Teşekkül Süreci*, 116.

[434] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Ghayba li'l-Hujja*, 240.

and Qāshān, which were known for their membership in the Imāmi community. Because we have no information about the appointment of deputies to these cities.

In the city of Ray, which is one of the important centers of Khorasan, we do not come across any deputy during the period when the imāms were alive. The name of Muhammad b. Jaʿfar al-Asadī (d.312/924) is mentioned as the deputy of Muhammad al-Mahdī, who was considered to be the absent Imām during the period of Ghayba al-Sughrā (260/873-329/941). In the sources, there are narrations about the trustworthiness of Muhammad b. Jaʿfar, who is understood to be the deputy especially in financial matters, in the eyes of the Imām and ambassadors. At the same time, it is understood from various narrations that the deputies in different regions of Khorasan were under Muhammad b. Jaʿfar.[435] For example, it is mentioned that Muhammad b. Shādhān b. Nuʿaym served as a deputy in Nīshābur under Muhammad b. Jaʿfar al-Asadī in Ray.[436] Probably the great distance between them indicates that the city of Ray was seen as a kind of base in this period, instead of the deputies in different cities of Khorasan being in direct contact with the center. In addition, we find the names of Bassāmī, Qāsim b. Mūsā and his father, Abū Muhammad b. Hārun, ʿAli b. Muhammad, Muhammad b. Muhammad, Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Kulaynī, and Abū Jaʿfar al-Rafā, who are also reported to have been deputies in Ray. [437]

During the period of occultation, parallel to the increase in the number of cities where the Wakalah organization was ac-

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[435] al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, I/524.

[436] Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma*, II/174. Muhammad ibn Shādhān ibn Nuʿaym, who was in Nīshābur, added 20 dirhams of his share to the 480 dirhams he had and sent it to Muhammad ibn Jaʿfar, who was in Ray. (See Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma,* II/240.)

[437] Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma*, II/174-5.

tive, a person responsible for the representatives of the Eastern cities was assigned in Baghdād. It is understood that this person named Hajiz ibn Yazīd was responsible for all the cities in the Eastern region and organized the goods collected from these places.[438] Again, during the same period, it is mentioned that someone named ʿAli ibn Husayn al-Tabarī was a representative in Samarkand. Shaykh Tūsī mentions him among those who do not have any narrations from the Imāms and states that he was a representative.[439]

Apart from these, the Shīʿites, in cases where no official representative was sent to them, appointed well-known people who came to the region as their representatives and sent their financial obligations to the ambassadors through these people. One of these was Husayn ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Qommī, who was in the service of Husayn ibn Rūh in Baghdād. When he went to Bukhara to narrate hadith, the Shīʿites here delivered their zakat to him.[440] Another example is Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Sayrafī, who was resident in Balkh but there is no information whether he was a representative or not. Once, when he was about to leave Balkh to perform the hajj, the Imāms who were there asked him to deliver some goods to Baghdād, and he delivered these goods to Husayn ibn Ruh (d. 326/ 938).[441]

As a result, it is understood that the Imāmi groups established a social base in Khorasan from the time of ʿAli al-Ridā and that this base was strengthened through deputies in the following periods.

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[438] Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma*, II/243, 254, 263; Jabbārī, *Sāzmān-e Wakalah*, I/140.
[439] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 429.
[440] Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma*, II/299.
[441] Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma*, II/295.

The Migration of Sādāt and the Imāmzādahs

Sādāt is the plural form of the Arabic word "Sayyid" and means master, guide, leader, and wise. The word used for the children of the Prophet from ʿAli and Fātima and all of their descendants is used in Shīʿite literature especially for the children of the Imāms who came after ʿAli.[442] In the Shīʿi tradition, in the context of giving a distinct belonging to the people who are considered imams, it is seen that the following terms are used: "Hasanid Sādāt" for the descendants of Hasan, "Husaynid Sādāt" for the descendants of Husayn, "Mūsawid Sādāt" for the descendants of Mūsā al-Kāzim, and "Razawid Sādāt" for the descendants of Ali al-Ridā.[443]

The phenomenon of migration is a complex process that results from the coming together of many different factors. In this context, the migration of Sādāt, who had a respected position in the Islamic world as a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, from the lands of Hijaz and Iraq where he was settled to Khorasan along with various regions of the Islamic world, took place within a process and as a result of the accelerating effect of some important events. It is possible to examine the reasons that led to these migrations towards the East under the following headings:

a. The rebellion of Zayd b. ʿAli in 122/740,

b. The rebellion of Muhammad b. Abdullah Nafs al-Zakiyya and his brother Ibrahim b. Abdullah during the caliphate of Abbasid caliph Mansur,

c. ʿAli al-Ridā was brought to Khorasan by the Abbasid caliph Ma'mun and declared as the heir apparent,

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[442] Mustafa Sabri Küçükaşçı, "Seyyid", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 2009, XXXVII/40.

[443] Heyet, al-Dāyirat al-ma'ārif al-Tashayyu', article 'Sādāt', Nashr al-Shahīd Muhibbī, Tehran 1381/2002, IX/150.

d. Establishment of the Tabaristān Zaydī State in 250/864.

Based on the information in the sources about Sādāt migrating to the cities of Khorasan, it is understood that 32 people migrated to Jurjān , 6 to Daylam, 3 to Rāwand, 66 to Ray, 2 to Talaqan, 2 to Tabas, 6 to Tūs, 23 to Qom, 8 to Marw, and 21 to Nīshābur.[444] When these names are examined closely, it is seen that they are generally names eight or nine generations after ʿAli and that they are concentrated in the 3rd/9th century.

The first Sādāt migrations to Khorasan took place after the Zayd ibn ʿAli rebellion in 122/740. Zayd ibn ʿAli was killed by the Umayyads after the rebellion he started in Kūfa, and then his son Yahyā ibn Zayd fled to Khorasan and suffered the same fate as his father. These rebellions, which are considered to be the most tragic events that a member of the sons of ʿAli has suffered since the Karbalā incident in 61/680, led to an increase in the Umayyads' pressure on this family and made them a potential threat to power after a long time. Indeed, some who were disturbed by this pressure migrated to the Khorasan region, which was far from the center of the caliphate. It is thought that Yahyā ibn Zayd was the first of the sons of ʿAli to go to Khorasan after this rebellion.[445] Following Yahyā, some of Husayn ibn Zayd ibn ʿAli's (d. 2nd/8th century) descendants migrated to the city of Aba near Qom.[446] Although the names of these people are not known, it is mentioned that Muhammad ibn Husayn ibn Zayd (d. late 2nd/8th century) was in Ray

[444] Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 30-210; Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 239.

[445] Although it is claimed that the descendants of the Imāms first migrated to Iran under the pressure of Hajjāj b. Yusuf (See Mustafa Öz, Mustafa Öz, "İmamzâde", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* Istanbul 2000, XXII/209.

[446] Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 34.

and that he was engaged in hadith narration without getting involved in any political events.[447]

It is known that after the rebellion of Muhammad ibn Abdullah Nafs al-Zakiyya (d. 145/762) against the Abbasids, his son Abdullah al-Ashtar went to the city of Kābul in the east of Khorasan and lived there for a while. He had a son named Muhammad al-Kābulī here and after him his descendants dispersed to the surrounding cities of Khorasan.[448] After Muhammad ibn Abdullah Nafs al-Zakiyya, his brother Yahyā ibn Abdullah joined the rebellion of Husayn ibn ʿAli (d. 169/786), known as "Shahīd-i Fah" in Medina, and after the rebellion failed, he fled to the Daylam region, taking some Kūfa people with him.[449] As far as is known, Yahyā b. Abdullah was the first of the Alids to come to the Daylam region. After him, many others chose the Daylam-Tabaristan region as a place of refuge and these migrations helped Hasan b. Zayd to establish the first Zaydite state in the region in 250/864.

The largest wave of migration to Khorasan occurred after ʿAli al-Ridā was summoned to Khorasan by Caliph Ma'mun. ʿAli al-Ridā's going to Khorasan and becoming the heir to the Abbasid throne brought the Imāmi community, which had not been involved in the rebellions carried out by the sons of ʿAli until that day and had been living in an introverted manner centered in Medina and Kūfa, face to face with a new phenom-

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[447] Najm al-Dīn Abī al-Hasan ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Alawī al-ʿUmarī, *al-Majdī fī Ansāb al-Tālibiyyīn*, thk. Ahmad al-Mahdawī al- Dāmeghānī, 2nd edition, Maktabat al-Āyatullah Mar'ashī Najafi, Qom 1380/2001, 358.

[448] al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 30; Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 283; Masʿūdī states that Abdullah went to Khorasan, but does not mention which city. (See *Murūj al-Zahab*, II/299.); al-ʿUmarī, *al-Majdī fī Ansāb al-Tālibiyyīn*, 224-25.

[449] Muhammad ibn ʿAli Ibn Taqtaqī, *al-Asīlī fī Ansāb al-Tālibiyyīn*, thk. Sayyid Mahdī Rajāʾī, Qom 1433/2012, 110-11.

enon. This phenomenon was the Sādāt, who were confined to the Hijaz and Kūfa and were kept under surveillance because they had the potential to rebel. In terms of mass migrations to different regions, it paved the way. These migrations, on the one hand, meant to ensure the establishment of the religion in newly Muslim societies, and on the other hand, to increase the propaganda power of those who had the potential to be opponents of the government in remote places.

ʿAli al-Ridā went to Khorasan, it is seen that his sister Fātima bt. Māsumah many of her relatives set out for Khorasan. However, this migration was left unfinished and Fātima fell ill near Qom and died in 201/816, and some of her survivors migrated from there to some cities in Khorasan.[450] Fātima's burial in Qom transformed the city of Qom, which was not well known until then, into a sacred center for the Imāmi groups, and this situation has continued until today.

It is recorded that many of Mūsā al-Kāzim's descendants migrated to the Khorasan region after Fātimah.[451] Of these, Ahmad ibn Mūsā al-Kāzim first lived for a while in Qom and then died in the city of Shiraz while traveling south with his relatives along the Tabes road to Khorasan.[452] The shrine of Ahmad ibn Mūsā in the city of Shiraz is today one of the most visited places in Iran.[453]

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[450] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 308-311.

[451] 'ʿAli al-Ridā became the heir, many of his brothers and relatives settled in the region called Iraq-e Ajam, especially in Ray, and that when they received the news of ʿAli Ridā's death, they headed towards Daylam and Tabaristan. (See Sayyid Nasseruddin Marʿashī, *Tārīkh-e Tabaristān Rūyān wa Māzenderān*, Tehran 1345/1966, 127.)

[452] al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 73; It is narrated that Ahmad ibn Mūsā rebelled in Shiraz after the death of his brother ʿAli al-Ridā and was killed as a result, but there are no other documents to prove this. (Compare Jalīl Irfanmanish, *Muhājirān-e Mūsawī*, Amîr Kabîr, Tehran 1391/2012, 81-133.)

[453] There are different narrations that Ahmad ibn Mūsā was buried in cities such as Balkh, Yemen, Isfarayin, Baghdād, but Shiraz is the most accurate. Today, his

ʿAli al-Ridā's death in Khorasan was received, many of the Sādāt people who were migrating to this region at that time changed their route to the Tabaristān and Daylam region, while most of them stayed in Ray, Qom and the small cities in the vicinity. Among them, Hamza b. Hamza b. Mūsā al-Kāzim, the grandson of Mūsā al-Kāzim, settled in Khorasan and was recorded as the first to die there.[454] Some of Hamza's descendants settled in the city of Balkh.[455]

The establishment of the Zaydī state in Tabaristan made this region a safe haven for Sādāt, who until then had been subjected to pressure from the government and had been living scattered in various cities. The first people who settled there invited their relatives and provided all kinds of support for the formation of the new state. This support pushed the Sādāt to take a political stance, and as a result, a great struggle took place between the Tahirids ruling in Khorasan and the Zaydī state of Tabaristan over the Sādāt. The fact that it is mentioned that some members of the Sādāt were captured,[456] imprisoned and killed in Nīshābur shows that belonging to the Sādāt had a political meaning.

The Sādāt migrations from Hijaz and Iraq to the Khorasan

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shrine is known as "Shah Cheragh". The discovery of the shrine of Ahmad ibn Mūsā and the surrounding area to make it magnificent Atabak Muzafferuddin It belongs to the period of Saʿd ibn Zangi (623/1226-658/1259). (See Irfanmanish, *Muhājirān-i Mūsawī*, 222.)

[454] al-ʿUmarī, *al-Majdī fī Ansāb al-Tālibiyyīn*, 310.

[455] Abū Tālib Ismāil ibn Husayn Husaynī al-Marwazī, *al-Fahrī fī Ansāb al-Tālibiyyīn*, thk. Sayyid Mahdī al-Rajāi, Maktabatu Āyatollah Marʿashī Najafi, Qom 1385/2007, 20.

[456] One of them was Husayn ibn Ibrahim ibn Abdurrahman ibn al-Qāsim ibn Hasan ibn Zayd ibn Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn Abī, who was of Hasanid descent and died in prison in 260/873. Tālib. (See al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 50); Another Alawite, Jaʿfar ibn Muhammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿAli ibn Husayn, rebelled in Ray and was then captured and died in the prison of Muhammad ibn Tahir in Nīshābur. (See al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 92.)

region are discussed, it is necessary to give a special place to the city of Qom. The city being one of the migration centers of the ʿAli lineage was influenced by the presence of the Ashʿar tribe that came from Kūfa and settled here, as well as its relatively remote location from the pressure of the government. In addition, the burial of Fātima bt. Mūsā al-Kāzim here increased the migrations to the city. It is seen that these migrations increased especially in the 3rd/9th century.

Sādāt's migration continued to increase in the 4th/10th century after the Buyids' domination of the Khorasan lands. Muhammad b. Husayn b. Jaʿfar b. Muhammad b. Jaʿfar al-Sādiq first came from Jurjān in 332/943. He went to Balkh and lived there for a while, then went to Bukhara and Samarkand and stayed there until 355/965. Abdullah b. Husayn b. Jaʿfar settled in Nīshābur and died there.[457]

Contemporary Shiʿi scholars collectively argue that the Sādāt played an important role in the spread of Shiʿism.[458] The background of this claim is seen to be the understanding of connecting all people descended from ʿAli with Shiʿism. Questions about the kind of activities that Sādāt's followers engaged in terms of Shiʿism in the regions they migrated to, the works they wrote to guide people, and whether the response they received from the public had a sectarian nature remain unanswered. To say that only Sādāt's migration to certain places strengthened Shiʿism in that region is, in our opinion, an inconsistent assessment. It is seen that these people listed above, whose names are mostly mentioned by Shīʿite sources, do not have any position that would require us to consider them Shīʿites, they only have

[457] al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 83.

[458] Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 236; Sayyid Nimatullah Husaynī, *Naqsh-e Sādāt wa Imāmzādegān dar Tarwīj-e Tashayyuʿ*, Intishārāt-e Asr-e Inqılāb, Qom 1390/2011, 3-5

the charisma of being descended from the Prophet, and they have a response in society with these characteristics.[459] One of the most important arguments for the Shiʿism of the Sādāt is their circulation and dissemination of hadiths on the virtue of the Ahl al-Bayt in their regions.[460] However, hadiths about the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt do not mean that a certain sect has gained power. In fact, it is seen that such hadiths are frequently included in Sunnī hadith collections. It is possible to interpret this situation as a typical indicator of the Shīʿa's desire to construct a history for themselves through Sādāt. However, despite all this, as Fazlur Rahman also points out,[461] the "slavish respect" shown by the Sunnīs, especially those living in the east of the Arab lands, to the Sayyids descended from Fātima and ʿAli can be considered one of the channels through which Shiʿism influenced Sunnī Islam.

One of the manifestations of Shiʿism in Khorasan is the emphasis on the *Imāmzādahs*. Imāmzāda is a more specific definition given to the descendants of the twelve people accepted as Imāms by the Imāmiyya or to those who come from their lineage.[462] However, in the following centuries, it acquired a special terminological meaning given to the shrines of these people. Contrary to the period in which they lived, the Imāmzādahs became places where Shiʿism is still practiced and kept alive in all its dimensions thanks to the spiritual climate created around

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[459] For an evaluation of the subject, see Mehmet Ümit, "Türklerin Müslüman Olmalarında ve Ehl-i Beyt'e Duydukları Sevgide Ehl-i Beyt Mensuplarının Rolü Üzerine", *I. Uluslararası Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli Sempozyumu (7-9 Mayıs 2010 Çorum)*, Ankara 2011, I/31-53.

[460] For an evaluation of how the concept of Ahl al-Bayt was exploited by the Shīʿites, see Sönmez Kutlu, "Ehl-i Beyt Sembolik Kapitalinin Tarihî Süreç İçinde Semerelendirilmesi", pp . 99-120.

[461] Fazlur Rahman, *İslam*, 253.

[462] M. Najjārī Sahlābādī, *Imāmzādagān-e Īrān wa Baqā-e Mutabarriqa*, Muassasa-e Farhangī-ye İntishārāt-e Khātem, Mashhad 1390/2011, 22.

their shrines after their deaths. This feature of the shrines has been a symbol of Shiʿism in Khorasan since the early periods has provided it with a socio-political background. According to official records, there are a total of 4653 shrines considered sacred in Iran today.[463]Among these, those recorded as Imāmzādah are around 450.[464]

The Imāmzādahs began to play a role in the religious life of Khorasan through the efforts of the Zaydī state established in Tabaristan in the 3rd/9th century, the veneration shown to these shrines by the Buyid emirs, and the efforts of the Seljuk Shīʿi vizier Majd al-Mulk (d. 492/1099). As Abdul Jalil al-Rāzī emphasizes, Majd al-Mulk in particular repaired many of the shrines of the Imāms and Imāmzādahs in the region from Khorasan to the Hijaz and made them more accessible for visits.[465]

The oldest known Imāmzādah shrine in Khorasan belongs to ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Bāqir (2nd/8th century)[466] near the city of Qāshān. Aside from doubts about the lineage of ʿAli ibn Muhammad,[467] it is known that his shrine was first discovered during the Seljuk period. It is also mentioned that the shrines of Fadl ibn Mūsā and Sulayman ibn Mūsā are in the city of Aba near Qom, and that of Abdullah ibn Mūsā is in the city of Awjan.[468]

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[463] Their distribution by present-day provinces is as follows: Faris: 820; Mazandaran: 762; Gilan: 579; Isfahan: 505; Tehran: 492; Khorasan: 261; Bushahr: 202; Khuzestan: 155; Markazī: 155; Samnān: 143; Hamadan: 89, Kerman: 77, Yazd: 64, Bakhtiari: 56, Luristan: 50, Ardabil: 47, Hormuzgan: 42, East Azerbaijan: 37, Kehgiluye and Buwayr Ahmad: 35, Aylam: 28, Kirmanshah: 28, West Azerbaijan: 24, Sistan-Balujistan: 2. (See Irfanmenish, *Muhājirān-i Mūsawī,* 33.)

[464] Sahlābādī, *Imāmzādegān-e īrān*, 4-21.

[465] ʻAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 90-91.

[466] ʻAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 648.

[467] Shaykh Tūsī mentions a man named ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Husayn among the companions of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq. (See *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 244.); Ibn Taqtaqī mentions a son of Muhammad al-Bāqir with this name but mentions that his grave is in Baghdād. (See, *al-Asīlī*, 148.)

[468] ʻAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 648.

Although the numerous Imāmzādah shrines in Khorasan have a special meaning for the Shīʿites, the presence of these shrines and the respect and reverence shown to them can be associated more with the respect and love felt for the Ahl al-Bayt, especially for the ʿAli lineage. Indeed, the fact that the same places were visited and respected by both the Sunnī people and the administrators shows that love for the Ahl al-Bayt is a common denominator among all social segments. It is certain that the Shīʿites, due to their general distance from power, have been far from institutional structures such as madrasahs where they would provide their sectarian education, and that these places of visit and the complexes built around them have served as important educational institutions throughout history. In this context, it can be accepted that the Imāmzādahs developed Shīʿite feelings and thoughts positively and were used as an important tool in spreading the ideas of the sect to the grassroots, but it is difficult to find the sources of this idea, at least in the first centuries. The oldest surviving work on visits, *Kāmil al-Ziyārat*, emphasizes the visits to the graves of the Imāms rather than the visits of ordinary members of the Prophet's family, indicating that the graves of members of the Ahl al-Bayt, such as the Imāmzāda, did not yet have much meaning for the Shīʿites at that time.[469] The earliest sources regarding the location of the Imāmzādah shrines can be dated back to the Saljuk period and the discovery of many shrines during this period suggests that these shrines were used as one of the means of spreading the Shīʿi thought. It is possible to say that Shiʿism played an important role in finding a social base and accelerating its cultural existence among the broad masses.

[469] Teresa Berhheimer, "Shared Sanctity: Some Notes on Ahl al-Bayt Shrines in the Early Talibid Genealogies", *Studia Islamica*, 108 (2013), 10.

The Culture of Hadith Narration in the Spread of Shīʿite Thoughts

In Shīʿa, the Imāms are considered to be the undisputed authorities on all matters related to religion and worldly affairs. The authority of the Imāms goes to the Prophet through the will and from him to Allah. Since the words of the Imāms are accepted as hadith, the culture of narration transmitted through the Imāms has had an important effect on the intellectual development of the sect.

When we examine the Shīʿite hadith sources we have, we see that this accumulation based on narration first developed around Muhammad al-Bāqir and his son Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, who lived in Medina.[470] The narrations transmitted from the Imāms are from Kūfa. It was written down by narrators and this accumulation in Kūfa was transferred to the cities of Qom and Ray starting from the middle of the 3rd/9th century. It was seen that Qom and Ray came to the fore with this feature thanks to the large number of people living in these cities and dealing with hadith. The scattered hadith collections called "'asl" during the period when the Imāms lived and were accepted to have been heard directly from the Imāms were compiled in Qom and Rayy and turned into a hadith collection called "jāmi'". Thanks to these works that ensured that the hadith accumulation of the Shīʿa was transferred to Khorasan and preserved there, both the existence of the Imāmi communities as a sect was ensured and the sect was able to preserve its natural state without being exposed to external influences and different factions such as Iraq.[471]

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[470] Kohlberg, Etan, "Şiî Hadis", çev. M. ʿAliBüyükkara, *Ekev Akademi Dergisi*, 2/2 (Mayıs 2000), 47-48.

[471] For this reason, Madelung defines this Shiʿism, which is centered in Qom and Ray in Iran, as "Orthodox Shiʿism". (See *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 81.)

We mentioned that he had students from Khorasan during the time of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq. However, we do not see any trace of Khorasan in any of the hadith treatises called the "400 asl" of the Shīʿa during this period. This shows that the activities based on hadith narration were limited to Medina and Kūfa and remained so until they were first moved to Qom under the leadership of Ibrahim b. Hashim al-Qommī in the middle of the 3rd/9th century, and then to Ray.

The fact that Muhammad b. Masʿud al-Ayyāshī (d. 320/932), who lived in Samarkand in the 4th/10th century, is said to have traveled to Kūfa, Qom, and Baghdād, where he is said to have heard hadith, shows that this accumulation in Qom and Ray was carried to other cities of Khorasan in this century. [472] Husayn b. Ishkīb al-Marwazī (d. after 270/883) traveled from Qom to Samarkand and became al-Ayyāshī's teacher there was also a milestone in the transfer of knowledge to the Transoxania.

If we take into account that Shaykh Sadūq had a conversation with the scholars of Qom who resided there during his visit to Khorasan and narrated hadith from them, it can be seen that a fertile climate was formed in the region in terms of Shīʿa hadith. One of these scholars was Shaykh Najmuddin Muhammad ibn Hasan. Shaykh Sadūq speaks highly of him and says that his father was his grandfather's student.[473] Again, Jaʿfar ibn ʿAli (Ahmad) al-Qommī al-Aylakī was one of the people who migrated from Qom and settled in Khorasan and from whom Shaykh Sadūq received hadith.[474] According to Shaykh Sadūq, the person named Nimat, who advised to write the book *Man*

[472] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* 335.

[473] Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma,* I/4.

[474] Through him, Shaykh Sadūq narrated ʿAlial-Ridā's theological discussions with various religious groups and sects during his stay in Khorasan. (See *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/299-380.)

lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh, was originally an Arab and migrated from Medina to Aylak.[475] ʿAli b. Muhammad Firūzan al-Qommī was also originally from Qom and lived in Kash.[476] This information shows that people who were involved in hadith studies centered in Qom established scientific councils in the cities of Khorasan in the 4th/10th century and thus played a role in the spread of Shiʿism.

When we look at the authors of the four basic books of Shīʿa, called Kutub al-Arbaaʿ, it will be seen that their common points are somehow based in Khorasan. Shaykh Sadūq spent most of his life in Khorasan and traveled to many cities, while Shaykh Tūsī spent his early years in Khorasan. This shows that during the formation of the Imāmiyya, Khorasan had an accumulation of knowledge centered on hadīth narration and that important scholars of Shīʿa wanted to benefit from this accumulation of the region. On the other hand, it may also be possible that the Shīʿa wanted to benefit from this potential of the Khorasan region in order to break the influence of some scholars who emerged in the field of fiqh in the same period and adopted the method of ijtihad while using narrations and to strengthen an ahbar-centered conception.

An analysis of Shaykh Sadūq's hadith narrators reveals that he did not narrate hadith from any of the famous Sunnī hadith narrators living in the region during his time. Although some of the people from whom he received narrations were Sunnīs, it is seen that the narrations received from them generally focused on moral issues and the virtues of Ahl al-Bayt. Sunnī hadith narrators were consulted on matters of Shiʿi belief only when they were helpful to this belief. For example, Shaykh

[475] Shaykh Sadūq, *Man lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh*, 13.
[476] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 429.

Sadūq mentions a Sunnī muhaddith named Abū Nasr Ahmad b. Sahl of Bukhara as one of the narrators of the famous "Hadith of Saqalayn".[477]

This accumulation of hadith, which was formed with the contributions of Khorasan and produced important works, was transferred to Baghdād in the 4th/10th century. This development was probably a result of the pressure of local dynasties that aimed to establish Sunnīsm in Khorasan and the free environment provided by the Buyids in Iraq.[478] During this period, Shīʿite scholars, with the influence of the Muʿtazila, used hadith as evidence for their own liberal ideas, thus initiating a Baghdād-centered usul structure.[479]

[477] Mahdī and Ahmad Ghulamali, 'Naksh-e Āsia-ye Miyāna-e Kohan dar Nashr-i Hadīs-i Shīʿa', *Faslnāme-i Ulûm-i Hadīs*, 15/4 (Qom 1389/2010), 192.

[478] Muhammad al-Hasan Abdulkarim Imādī, *Khorasan fi al-Asri al-Ghaznawī*, Jordan 1997, 263; Also see Ahmad Güner, "Büveyhiler Dönemi ve Çok Seslilik", *Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 12 (İzmir 1999), pp . 47-72.

[479] Kohlberg, "Şii Hadis", 51.

CHAPTER II
SOCIAL BASE OF SHIʿISM IN KHORASAN

Qom: Headquarters on the Road to Khorasan

In the context of Shiʿism in Khorasan, the city of Qom is a prominent exemplar. This distinction positions Qom as a unique city, distinguished by its profound integration with the sect. The dissemination of Shiʿism from Iraq to Khorasan represents a pivotal aspect within the purview of our research. This is primarily due to the fact that the majority of early geographers assert that Qom was the first city in Khorasan to openly adopt Shiʿism.[480]

Given the paucity of extant resources, it is challenging to ascertain the initial proponents of Shiʿism associated with the city of Qom and the tenets of their belief system. However, the fact that this city is associated with Shiʿism can be traced back to an earlier date compared to other cities in the Khorasan geography. The religious grouping movement around the individuals who were accepted as Imāms from the lineage of ʿAli developed relatively independently of active political strug-

[480] al-Istakhrī, *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik*, 119; Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb al-Sūrat al-Arz, 370*; Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al- Buldān*, IV/398.

gle.[481] Such early Shīʿite-Imām formations first became a force in Qom and surrounding towns in the eastern lands.

Arab tribes of the Yemenite origin living in Kūfa played an important role in the transmission of Shiʿism to Qom and its region. It is accepted that the most important of these tribes were the members of the Ashʿar tribe who fled from the persecution of the Umayyad governor Hajjaj b. Yusuf (d. 95/714) after their support for the revolt of ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Ashʿas (d. 85/704).[482] However, there are some hints in the sources about the presence of Arabs in Qom and its vicinity before the Ashʿar tribe. For example, after the revolt of Mukhtar al-Saqafī (d. 67/687), first Khattāb b. al-Asadī and then a group of Arabs from his tribe, Banī al-Asad, settled in the village of Jamkeran near Qom.[483] Al-Khattāb built a masjid there and prayed alone, and a group from the Asad tribe stayed there for a short time after him.[484] In 77/696, it is mentioned that Mutarrif b. Mughira b. Shuʿba, who was anti-Umayyad, came to Qom, Qāshān and Isfahan with a group supporting him after his rebellion.[485] This information is clear evidence that Qom and its environs were known before the Ashʿar tribe and had the potential to support an anti-Umayyad revolt. [486]

The author of the *Tārīkh-e Qom*, Hasan ibn Muhammad Qommi, based on *the Kitāb al-Isfahan*, stated that after Hajjaj defeated

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[481] Josef Van Ess, *Theology and Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin-New York 1991, II/630-31.

[482] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 352; al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, X/228-29.

[483] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 56.

[484] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 56.

[485] al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, VI/293; al-Balāzūrī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, VII/401. (Compare ʿAliAsghar Faqīhī, *Tārīkh-e Mazhabī-yi Qom*, 3rd edition, Intishārāt-i Zāir, Qom 1386/2007, 48-49.)

[486] We can also come across traces of Qom being a place of refuge for opponents of the Umayyads in later periods. For example, in 131/748, Hakīm Akkī, one of the commanders of Qahtaba, came to Qom during the rebellion against Marwan, and later Qahtaba joined him. (See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, V/56.)

Abdurrahman ibn Ashʿas, the Arabs from the tribes of Taym, Qays, Adiy (ʿAnza) and Ashʿar, who supported him, headed towards Isfahan.[487] He stated that as a result of this heading, Abdullah and Ahwas from the tribe of Ashʿar settled in Qom and its surroundings first.[488] According to the information provided by the author of the 3rd/9th century, al-Yaʿqūbī, the Arabs from the tribes of Mazhij and Ashʿar, together with a group called the mawālī of Abdullah ibn Abbas ibn Abdulmuttalib, constituted the majority of the population in Qom.[489] As a result of these intense migrations to Qom and its surroundings, it is possible to say that Qom began to become a city where some Arab tribes with oppositional characters first brought the Shīʿite movements in the context of anti-Umayyad to here.[490]

In the historical process, the city of Qom became one of the most important cities of the Imāmiyya Shīʿa because of its efforts in the transmission and dissemination of hadiths transmitted through the Imāms. Since the first centuries, relations with the Imāms of Ali's lineage have been kept close, and as a result, a Shiʿism centered on the akḥbar transmitted through the Imāms has been formed.

In Shiʿi biographical works, it is mentioned that Muhammad al-Bāqir was in contact with some people from Qom. These include Salman b. Khālid Talhī al-Qommī, [491] Muhammad b. al-Alyesa' b. Hamza al-Qommī, [492] and Ishaq b. ʿAbdullah al-Qommī. [493] However, all three of them do not have any narrations from Muhammad al-Bāqir in the early hadith

[487] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 381.
[488] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 354.
[489] al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 84-85.
[490] Athamina, "Emevî Hilafeti Döneminde Arap İskânı", 204.
[491] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 137.
[492] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 146.
[493] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 216; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 162.

collections. Moreover, except for the information that Ishaq b. ʿAbdullah al-Qommī belonged to the tribe of Ashʿar, the others are completely unknown. The mention of these individuals together with the imams can be seen as a product of efforts to bring the city of Qom's acquaintance with Shiʿism to a much earlier period.

The earliest contacts of the city of Qom with Imāmite circles can be traced back to the time of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq. During this period, many people from the Ashʿar tribe are mentioned among his companions and it is seen that they transmitted many hadiths that are reflected in the Shīʿite hadith collections through Jaʿfar al-Sādiq. The person who made Shiʿism apparent in Qom was Mūsā b. Abdullah al-Ashʿarī, who belonged to this tribe. (2nd/8th century).[494] However, there is no trace here of what kind of activities Mūsā b. Abdullah engaged in that would require him to be considered a Shīʿite. When we look at the other individuals mentioned in the books of Rijāl and Tabaqāt[495] as companions of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq during this period, we see that the narrations they narrated and included in the hadith collections do not contain the first Shīʿite ideas that would indicate a differentiation in belief, and that the narrations are mostly related to acts of worship such as pilgrimage, prayer, etc. If we consider that some basic views concerning both jurisprudence and

[494] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 401.

[495] The following people are mentioned in the works of Barqī and Shaykh Tūsī as companions of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq and are attributed to Qom: Abdulmalik ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, Abdulaziz ibn Abdussamed al-Qommī, Abdulwahhab al-Qommī, Adam ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿari al-Qommī, Hamza ibn Alyasa al-Qommī, Idris ibn Abdullah al-Qommī, Imran ibn Abdullah al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, Isa Abū Bakr ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, Ishaq ibn Abdullah al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, Mūsā ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, Shuʿayb ibn Abdullah al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, al-Walid al-Qommī, Yaʿqūb ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿarī, Zakariya ibn Idris al-Qommī, Zakariya ibn Adam al-Qommī.

belief in Shīʿite hadith books are attributed to Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, it can be said that such ideas were not yet carried to the city of Qom during this period.

There are signs that show that in the early 3rd/9th century, the love for the people who were considered Imāms from the lineage of ʿAli became evident in the city. For example, Diʿbil b. ʿAli al- Huzāī (148-246/765-860), who was known for his poems praising the Ahl al-Bayt, ʿAli al-Ridā while he was in Marw, he sang a poem praising him and his lineage, whereupon ʿAli al-Ridā gave him his robe along with one hundred dinars with his name printed on it. [496] When Diʿbil left Marw and went to Qom, the people of Qom wanted to buy that robe for 30,000 dirhams, but he did not want to sell this valuable gift for himself. Thereupon, the people of Qom stopped him and took the robe from him by force. When Diʿbil resisted, they offered to buy it again for money. Diʿbil said, "I swear that I will not sell it, but give me a piece of it to wrap in my shroud." So they gave him a piece of it.[497]

The transformation of the love of the people of Qom for the members of the Ahl al-Bayt into Shīʿa ideas probably occurred in the mid-3rd/9th century during the time of Ibrahim ibn Hashim al-Qommī (d. 3rd/9th century), who is said to have been the first to bring to Qom the accumulation of hadith produced in Kūfa and attributed to the Imāms.[498] The hadiths he narrated attracted attention in Qom and were passed on to the following generations from there. His son and most famous student, ʿAli ibn Ibrahim al-Qommī (d. after 307/919), the city

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[496] According to al-Kashshī, ʿAli al-Ridā wanted to give him 600 dinars and his silk cardigan for his poem, but he did not accept the money and took the cardigan. (See *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 358.); For the work known as *Qasīda-e Tāiyya*, see Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 222.

[497] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 358; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazam*, XI/342.

[498] Cf. Akhtar, *Early Shiʿite Imāmiyah Thinkers*, 40.

of Qom became the most important center for compiling the narrations of the Imāms. After him, this chain continued with his student ʿAli ibn Husayn Bābawayh (d. 329/940) and these activities reached their peak with Muhammad ibn ʿAli Bābawayh (d. 381/991), known as Shaykh Sadūq.

There was a period in the 4th/10th century when the city of Qom was associated with Shiʿism. Al-Maqdisī describes the people of Qom as extreme (ghalī) Shiʿism and attributes this to their "closing the mosque and expelling the congregation". He then states that they remained this way until the Buwayhid emir of the period, Rukn al-Dawla, made them return.[499] In the same century (4th/10th century), al-Ashʿarī describes the city of Qom as a centre where Shiʿism was clearly evident.[500]

The most important information we have come across about the Shiʿism of the city of Qom in the first four centuries emerged from their attitudes towards the companions. In one of these, we come across the following narration:

A Sunnī judge came to Qom and gathered the notables of the city and said, "*I heard that you are hostile to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthman and that you did not give your children their names. You will find and bring me someone from among you whose name is ʿUmar or Abū Bakr by tomorrow*." The people of Qom then went around the city looking for such a person. Then they brought someone who was blind, bald, and had crippled hands and feet and said his name was Abū Bakr. When the judge saw this, he got very angry. Thereupon, the people there said, "It is not the fault of the people of Qom, the water and air here could not have pro-

[499] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 296; What is probably meant by the mosques being empty here is that, according to the Shīʿi belief, during the Occultation period, since there was no Imām, collective prayers such as Friday and Eid prayers could not be performed.

[500] el-Eş'arî, *İlk Dönem İslam Mezhepleri*, 82.

duced a better Abū Bakr than this."[501] In another narration related to this, another person who saw someone named Imran being beaten in Qom said that this person's name was not ʿUmar and asked why they were beating him. They replied, "No, he is ʿUmar. He stole the letters "Alif (ا)" and "Nun (ن)" from ʿUthman and added them to himself."[502] Traces of the negative attitude of the people of Qom towards the companions became visible in the great tension that occurred between Qom and Isfahan in 345/956. In this year, when some people from Qom went to Isfahan for trade, they spoke bad words about the companions (sahāba) there, whereupon the people of Isfahan killed some of them and confiscated their property. When this news reached the Buyid ruler of the time, Rukn al-Dawla, he became angry and confiscated some of the property of the people of Isfahan.[503]

There are also scholars who are attributed to the city of Qom and are stated to be Sunnī, but their number is limited. In the introduction of the *Tārīkh-e Qom*, fourteen Sunnī scholars are mentioned until the year 378/988 when the work was written, but the information about these people is in the sections of the book that we have not been able to obtain.[504] Al-Samʿanī, the famous Sunnī hadith scholar al-Bukharī (d. 256/870) in *Kitāb al-Tibb*, he mentions that he narrated a hadith from Ya'qūb ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (d. 174/790).[505] al-Samʿanī also mentions an-

[501] Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*, IV/398; al-Qazwīnī, *Āsār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-ʿIbād*, 514-515; The same story is also told for the city of Bayhaq (Sabzewar). Probably the fact that both cities were known for their Shiʿism led to their being remembered with such a fiction.

[502] Qadi Sayyid Nurullah Shushtari, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I-II, Ketabfurūshi-yi Islamī, Tehran 1365/1987, I/85.

[503] Abū al-Fida Ismail Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, thk. Abdullah ibn Abdulmuhsin, 1419/1998, XV/227.

[504] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 27.

[505] al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, X/231.

other person named Abū al-Hasan ʿAli ibn Mūsā ibn Yazdād (Yazīd) al-Qommī (d. 305/917). He states that this person, who is understood to be a Sunnite scholar with the Qommī nisbah, was the imam of Ahl al-Ra'y in his century and adds that he wrote a work titled *Ahkām al-Qur'ān*. He states that Abū al-Hasan came first to Ray and then to Nīshābur at the request of the Sāmānid Amīr Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl (d. 301/914), where he established scholarly assemblies and taught for a while.[506] In *Tabaqāt al-Shafiʿiyya* there are also mentions of many Shafiʿi judges who were appointed as judges in Qom. In the section where he gives information about Abū Said al-Istakhrī, one of these judges, al-Subkī relates the following anecdote about Qom: *"One day, Muhammad b. Saʿīd al-Furātī met Abū Saʿīd al-Istakhrī (d. 328/939), who was a judge in Qom and had come from Qom at that time, in Hamadan. Abū Said said to him: A man died in Qom and his daughter and uncle were left alive. His family came to me and asked how we should divide the inheritance. I said, give half to the daughter and the rest to her uncle. They objected and claimed that all of it should belong to the daughter. Then they said, we do not want you here. They were from the Ghurābiyya school of thought."*[507] This narration was narrated in Qom in the 4th/10th century. It is noteworthy as it shows that Imāmiyya jurisprudence has become dominant in society.

Alid Migration

The city of Qom gaining a Shīʿite identity accelerated the migration of people from the ʿAli lineage to this city. Although these people did not directly carry Shīʿite ideas, they played im-

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[506] al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, X/230.

[507] Tāj al-Dīn Abū Nasr 'Abd al-Wahhab ibn ʿAli al-Subkī, *Tabakāt al-Shāfiʿī al-Kubrā*, I-X, thk. A. M. al-Hulw-M. M. al-Tanāhī, Matbaatu Isa al-Babī al-Khalabī, Cairo 1963-1964, III/233; Ghurābiyya, is one of the Shīʿite ghulat sects. They claim that Gabriel mistakenly conveyed the revelation to the Prophet, when in fact he should have given it to ʿAli. (See el-Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 194.)

portant roles in the social and political life of the cities where they were located.

The Hasanid lineage to migrate to Qom and settle here was Abū Hāshim Muhammad b. ʿAli ibn Ubaydullah b. Abdullah b. Hasan b. Hasan b. ʿAli b. Abī Tālib (late 3rd/9th century).[508] Apart from this, Abū al-Qāsim Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abdurrahman b. al-Qāsim b. Hasan b. Zayd b. Hasan b. ʿAli b. Abī Tālib (3rd/9th century), from Tabaristan he migrated to Qom and lived there. He went back to Tabaristan towards the end of his life and died there.[509] His son Tāhir migrated from Tabaristan towards the end of the 3rd/9th century. He migrated to Qom and married the daughter of Hasan ibn Hammad from the Ashʿar tribe. One of his sons, ʿAli ibn Tāhir (4th/10th century), migrated from Qom to Ray and from there to Nīshābur. His other son, Isa ibn Ahmad, migrated from Tabaristan to Ray. One of his sons, Ahmad ibn Isa, migrated from Ray to Qom and settled there, while Hasan ibn Isa remained in Ray and engaged in trade, and died in 370/980.[510]

Husaynid Sādāt It is mentioned that the first person to migrate to Qom was Abū al-Hasan Husayn b. Husayn b. Jaʿfar b. Muhammad b. Ismail b. Jaʿfar al-Sādiq (d. 3rd/9th century).[511] In the same period, Mūsā (al- Muberkaʿ) b. Muhammad b. ʿAli b.

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[508] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 301.

[509] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 304.

[510] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 304-305.

[511] According to the narration about Abū al-Hasan, whose date of death is unknown, it is understood that he migrated to Qom during the lifetime of Hasan al-Askarī, that is, he lived in the 3rd/9th century. According to the relevant narration, Abū al-Hasan was first mistreated by the leader of Qom, Ahmad ibn Ishaq al-Ashʿarī (d. late 3rd/9th century), because he drank wine openly; then, when Ahmad went to Hasan al-Askarī and did not find him worthy of attention, he became upset and Hasan al-ʿAskarī replied to him, "You did not show mercy to a member of my family!" He said that he drank alcohol and that was why he behaved badly. Hasan al-ʿAskarī told him, "No matter what happens, you must treat Sādāt well first!" (See Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 306-308.)

Mūsā al-Ridā (d. 296/908) migrated from Kūfa to Qom in 256/869. After staying there for a while, he went to nearby Qāshān, then settled in Qom again at the request of the Arabs in Qom, and after inviting his sisters from Kūfa, he stayed there and died in Qom in 296/908. After his death, a shrine was built in his name and many people from the later Sādāt were buried in this place called *Mashhad-e Mūsā*.[512] After him, Abū ʿAli Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Mūsā ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli al-Ridā (d. 315/927) settled in Qom with many of his relatives.[513] From the lineage of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, Husayn ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Jaʿfar came and settled in Qom. He had three children named Muhammad, ʿAli, Abdullah and Muhsen. Of these, Muhammad went to Aba and after a while migrated to Ray. ʿAli, Abdullah and Muhsen stayed in Qom.[514]

The interest shown by the city of Qom in the Sādāt sometimes attracted even those who did not want to settle in the city and changed their minds in the face of this interest. One of them was Abū Abdullah Ishaq ibn Ibrahim ibn Mūsā al-Kāzim. Ishaq ibn Ibrahim visited the city of Qom on his way to Khorasan and Tabaristan. When the local Arabs of the city welcomed him with interest and wanted him to stay in Qom, he decided to settle in this city. His son, Abū ʿAli Ahmad ibn Ishaq ibn Ibrahim (d. 3rd/9th century) went to Aba[515] and lived there for a while. Ishaq b. Ibrahim, upon the interest he received, sent his nephew Abū al-Husayn Muhammad b. Hasan b. Ibrahim b. Mūsā (d. 3rd/9th century) He invited him from Kūfa and en-

[512] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 311-313; Jamāl al-Dīn Ahmad ibn ʿʿAli al-Dāwūdī Ibn ʿAnba, *Umdat al-Tālib al-Sughrā fī Nasab Abī Tālib*, thk. Sayyid Mahdī al-Rajāʾī, Qom 1430/2009, 113.

[513] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 314-316.

[514] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 322-25.

[515] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 320-321; Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 33.

sured that he settled in Aba. Muhammad b. Hasan stayed there with his sons and served as a deputy.[516]

It is seen that the city of Qom was among the places where the sons of ʿAli could take refuge in difficult situations. For example, after the Zanj rebellion in Basra in 245/860, one of the sons of Abdullah b. Hasan, Aftas, came from Basra to Qom and settled here.[517] Apart from these, it is known that a few people from the lineage of Muhammad al-Hanafiyya were in the cities of Ray, Qom and Qazvin in the 3rd/9th century.[518]

It is possible to say that these migrations to Qom and its surroundings, mostly carried out by the children of personalities accepted as Imāms, facilitated the representation of some Shīʿite ideas around the lineage of the Prophet in later periods.

Important Shīʿa Families

The Family of the Ashʿar

The Ashʿarīs are important tribes originating from Yemen.[519] The majority of them became Muslims during the time of the Prophet and were at the forefront of important conquest movements. Although Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, one of the elders of this tribe, is known more as the referee of ʿAli in arbitration events, he also took his place in history as an important commander who carried out the conquest of the southern parts of Iran. He was the governor of Kūfa during the time of ʿUthman and continued in this position for a while during the time of ʿAli. A significant portion of the tribe settled in Kūfa and played important roles in the city.

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[516] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 20-321.
[517] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 330.
[518] Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 35.
[519] ʿUmar Ridā Kahkhāle, *Muʿjam al-Kabāil al-Arab al-Kadīma wa'l-Hadīsa*, I-V, Muessasat al-Risāle, Beirut 1418/1997, I/30-31.

There are various narrations about the reasons for the migration of the Ashʿar tribe from Kūfa. According to one narration, Ahwas from this tribe complained to the Umayyad governor of the period, Hajjaj, as a result of his fight with some Dihqans of Kūfa, and as a result of the events that followed, he was forced to migrate from the city with his family. Ahwas, his two brothers Abdurrahman and Nuaym went to the lands of Khorasan with his whole family. His other brother Abdullah joined them after selling all his remaining property in Kūfa.[520] According to another narration, Muhammad b. Saib, who belonged to the tribe of Ashʿar, this migration took place after he was killed by Hajjaj. According to another narration, the Ashʿar tribe joined the rebellion of Abdurrahman b. Ashʿas and when the rebellion failed, they took refuge in the Qom district to escape Hajjaj's oppression.[521] As a result, the members of the Ashʿar tribe temporarily stayed in a place called Abreshtijan, one of the districts of Qom, around 94/712. During this period, their relations with the local administrators improved and the Ashʿar tribe, led by Ahwas, resisted the attacks of the Daylamites towards the Qom region and gained reputation among the local people.[522] Thus, the tribe began to settle permanently in Qom and its surroundings with the support of the local people.

Sāib, the uncle of Ahwas (d. 2nd/8th century) and Abdullah (d. 2nd/8th century), who were the first settlers in this city from the Ashʿar tribe, was one of the important people who participated in the rebellion of Mukhtar al-Saqafī and was killed together with Mukhtar, it can be said that they had

[520] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 358.
[521] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 380-382.
[522] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 363-364.

close relations with the groups supporting the sons of ʿAli.[523] Indeed, the members of this tribe living in Qom later joined the rebellion of Qahtaba b. Shabīb during the Abbasid revolution. It is mentioned that they supported the anti-Umayyad rebellion in Jurjān. [524]

Shīʿite sources mention that the first person from this family to make Shiʿism "obvious" was Mūsā ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd.[525] Mūsā ibn Abdullah, together with his brother Shuʿayb, is mentioned in the books of Rijāl and Tabaqāt as a companion of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq.[526] However, his other brother, Ishaq ibn Abdullah, is shown among the companions of both Muhammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Sādiq.[527] This situation shows that the first contacts of the Arabs in the Qom region with the Imāmi groups can be dated back to the time of Muhammad al-Bāqir, but the fact that no narration from Muhammad al-Bāqir has been reflected in the sources requires caution in this regard.

After the settlement of the Ashʿar tribe in Qom, the names of many members of this family are mentioned in the ashabs of the Imāms from Jaʿfar al-Sādiq onwards.[528] The majority of

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523 al-Balāzūrī, *Ansāb al-Ashraf*, III/478-80, VI/440-41; Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 409.

524 Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 79.

525 Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 401; Cf. al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, X/229; Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*, IV/398; According to Ali Asghar Faqihi, one of the contemporary writers, what was meant by making Shiʿism explicit in Qom was that those who came to Qom before Mūsā b. Abdullah did not make any effort to adopt Shiʿism to the people, whereas Mūsā b. Abdullah was the first to guide the people and propagate the sect. (See *Tārīkh-e Mazhabī-ye Qom*, 47.)

526 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 265.

527 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 216; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijal al - Tūsī*, 162.

528 Among them, those mentioned as the companions of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq are: Abdulmalik ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿarī al - Qommī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 183; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 238.), Adam ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 207; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 156.), Hamza ibn Alyasa' al-Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 190; He is also among the companions of Mūsā al-Kāzim. al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 350; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 335.), İdris ibn Abdullah al-Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 163.), İmran ibn Abdullah al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See al-Kashshī,

these individuals are among the narrators of the hadith narrations transmitted through the Imāms in the Shīʿa hadith collections. It is also stated that the Ashʿar tribe, while still in the period of the Imāms, donated most of the income it obtained in Qom and its vicinity to the Imāms and that the first people

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al-Rijāl al-Kashshī, 236-237; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 257.), İsa (Abū Bakr) ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd el- Eş ʿ ari al-Qommī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 230; al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 236-237; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 265.), İshak ibn Abdullah el-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 216; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 162.), Mūsā ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd el-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 227; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī* , 301.), Shuʿayb ibn Abdullah el-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 222.), Ya'qūb ibn Abdullah ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿarī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 219.) Zakariya ibn Idris al-Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 210; He is also a companion of ʿAli al-Ridā. Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 358.), Zakariya ibn Adam al-Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 210; He is also a companion of ʿAli al-Ridā. See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 358. He is also a companion of Muhammad al- Jawād. Shaykh Tūsī, those who are considered to be among the companions of Mūsā al-Kāzim: Abdulaziz ibn al-Muhtadī al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt,* 370; also, a companion of ʿAli al-Ridā. Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 360.), Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Abī Hālid al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 376.), Saʿd ibn Imran al- Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 338.), Those who are considered as the companions of ʿAli al-Ridā: Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Isa al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 351. He is also a companion of ʿAli el-Hādī. Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 383.), İdris ibn Isa al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 351.), İsmail ibn Saʿd al-Ahwas al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 352.), al-Marzūbān ibn ʿImran al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 366.), Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Isa al-Ashʿarī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 365.), Muhammad ibn Sahl ibn Alyasa' ibn Abdullah al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 365.), Saʿd ibn Saʿd al-Ahwas ibn Saʿd ibn Malik al-Ashʿarī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 358.), Sahl ibn Alyasa' ibn Abdullah al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 358.), Those who are considered to be among the companions of Muhammad al-Jawād: Ahmad ibn Ishaq ibn Saʿd al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 408; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 373. He is also a companion of Hasan el-Askarī. al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 436; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 397), Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Ubayd al-Qommī el-Ashʿarī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 413; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 373.), Companions of ʿAli al-Hādī: Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Isa al-Ashʿarī (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 391.), Hasan el-Askarī's companions: Dāwūd ibn Āmir al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 436; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 399.)

who sent Khums[529] to the Imāms were members of this tribe.[530] On the other hand, it is known that there were also people belonging to this tribe who were not Shīʿa. Of these, the names of two individuals, Ashʿas b. Ishaq b. Saʿd (d. 2nd/8th century) and Ya'qūb b. Abdullah b. Saʿd al-Ashʿar al-Qommī (174/790), are mentioned in the Sunnī hadith scholars.[531] Whenever Jarīr ibn Abdullah, who was mentioned as a judge of the Ray and a bigoted Sunnī, saw Ya'qūb ibn Abdullah, he would say, "This is a believer of the Pharoah Family."[532] From these phrases, it is possible to conclude that the entire Ashʿar tribe was known as Shīʿa before 174/790, the date of Ya'qūb's death. [533]

Some of the important people belonging to this family are:

Rayyān b. Salt al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (d. 3rd/9th century)

He companions of ʿAli al-Ridā. He has a book called *al-Farq bayn al-Āl wa al-Umma*.[534] Although the book has not reached us, it is reported in Shaykh Sadūq's *'Uyūn Akhbār al-Ridā*. In the work, it is seen that when ʿAli al-Ridā was in the palace of al-Ma'mun in Marw, a group of scholars from Iraq and Khorasan, whose names are not mentioned, discussed the differences between Āl (Itrat) and Ummahin a gathering.[535] The discussion be-

[529] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 402.

[530] Khums: According to the general Islamic understanding, khmus, which refers to the one-fifth share taken from the spoils of war and certain goods listed in this ruling, has been considered as a separate section in the Shīʿa jurisprudence literature after zakat and has gradually become an institution and has been included among the fundamental principles of the sect. (See Mustafa Öz, "Şîa'da Humus", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1998, XVIII/369-370, XVIII/369.

[531] al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, X/229-230.

[532] Jamal al-Dīn Abū al-Hajjaj Yusuf al-Mizzī, *Tahzīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā' al-Rijāl*, thk. Bishar Awwad Maruf, Beirut 1982-1992, XX /438.

[533] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 79.

[534] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 386-87; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 162; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/ 421.

[535] Shaykh Sadūq, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/464-91.

gins with the interpretation of the verse in Surah al-Fāṭir, verse 32: "Then we gave the book as an inheritance to those whom we chose from among our servants." Al-Ma'mun inquired about the recipients of the book mentioned in the verse. The scholars replied that the whole ummah is meant here. Later, al-Ma'mun asked the same question to ʿAli al-Ridā. ʿAli al-Ridā replied that what is meant here is not the ummah, but the Ithrat al-ṭāhirah (imāms). If what was meant was the entire ummah, then the entire ummah should enter paradise, because the verse continues, "Among them are those who wronged themselves. Among them are those who are in the middle. There are also those of them who, by the permission of Allah, take the lead in good deeds." He stated that the meaning of the verse cannot be extended to the entire ummah, stating that the ummah is divided into three groups. When al-Ma'mun asked him who is the 'ithrat al-tāhirah', ʿAli al-Ridā replied that the verse in Surah al-Ahzāb, verse 33, "Ey people of the Prophet's household! Allah only wants to remove from you the dirt of sin and to make you pure." He stated that the verse in verse 33 of al-Ahzāb describes who the ithrat al-tāhirah is. The discussion then continues with mutual arguments about who or who should be the idrah. Although the narration in question cannot be verified by any other source, it is understood that the discussions about the identity of the Itrat (Ahl al-Bayt), which is considered one of the basic views of Shīʿa, were brought up in Khorasan in a way that reflects the Shīʿa differentiation in the early period.

Muhammad b. Isa b. Abdullah b. Saʿd al-Ashʿarī (d. first half of the 3rd/9th century)

It is said that he was the "Shaykh of the Qommīs" people during his time and a respected person in the eyes of the Sultan. He is known as the companion of ʿAli al-Ridā and Mu-

hammad al-Jawād. His work *Kitāb al-Khutab* was narrated by his son Ahmad b. Muhammad.[536]

Ahmad b. Abī Zāhir al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (d. after 270/883)

Shaykh Tūsī mentioned him among those who have no narration from any of the Imāms.[537] Ahmad b. Abī Zāhir narrated hadith from Muhammad ibn al-Husayn ibn Abī al-Khattab al-Mahdānī (d. 262/875), Jaʿfar ibn Muhammad al-Kūfī and al-Hasan ibn Mūsā al-Hishab. Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn Yahyā al-Attar al-Qommī, one of the important Shaykhs of al-Kulaynī, narrated many hadith from him and these are included in *Usūl al-Kāfī*, especially in the section *Kitāb al-Hujja*, where the proofs of Imāmate are listed in Shīʿa belief.[538] The books attributed to him are *Kitāb al-Badā', Kitāb al-Jabr wa al-Tafwīz, Kitāb Mā Yafʿal al-Nāsi Hīnu Yafqadūn al-Imām, Kitāb Sifat al-Rusul wa al-Anbiyā wa Salīhin, Kitāb al-Nawādir, Kitāb al-Zakāt, Kitāb al-Jumʿa and ʿI-ydayn* and there are works such as *Ahādīth al-Shams wa al-Qamar*. [539]

Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Isā al-Ash 'arī al-Qommī (d. after 274/887)

He is known as the religious and scholarly leader of the Imāmis in the city after his father. He has many narrations from ʿAli al-Ridā, Muhammad al-Jawād, and ʿAli al-Ḥādī.[540] He had a significant influence on the development of Shiʿite hadith for the next generation. Ibn Hajar introduces him as the shaykh of

[536] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 323.
[537] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 416.
[538] For some of the hadiths in which he is included in the chain of narration, see al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, I/192, 226, 229, 254, 264, 265, 275, 413.
[539] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 86; Shaykh Tūsī, al-*Fihrist*, 69-70.
[540] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 80.

the Rāfiza in Qom who had books.[541] He learned fiqh, hadith and theology from many scholars. Among these scholars were Muhammad b. Abī ʿUmayr al-Azdī (d. 217/832), Abū Muhammad ʿAbdullah al-Hajjal al-Mutakallim, ʿAli b. Asbāt b. Sālim, ʿAli b. al-Hakam, al-Husayn b. Saʿīd al-Ahwāzī, al-Hasan b. ʿAli b. Yaqtīn, al-Hasan b. ʿAli b. Faddāl, ʿAli b. Mahziyār al-Ahwāzī. Those who narrated from him were Saʿd b. ʿAbdullah b. Abī Khalaf al-Ashʿarī, Ahmad b. Idrīs Abū ʿAli al-Ashʿarī, Sahl b. Ziyād al-Adamī, Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Saffār, Muhammad b. ʿAli b. Mahbūb, Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Yahyā b. Imran al-Ashʿarī. His only extant book is *Kitāb al-Nawādir*,[542] in which he collected fiqh narrations. Works such as *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Mutʿa, Kitāb al-Fadl al-Nabī, Kitāb al-Fadāil al-Arab, Kitāb al-Hajj, Kitāb al-Maqāsib, Kitāb al-Nasih wa al-Mansuh*[543] are attributed to him.

Ahmad b. Ishaq b. Abdullah b. Sa'd al-Ash'arī (d. late 3rd/9th century)

He is considered one of Hasan al-ʿAskarī's close companions and his deputies in Qom. It is also narrated that he personally saw and conversed with Muhammad al-Jawād and ʿAli al-Hādī. He had a mosque built in the city upon the order of Hasan al-ʿAskarī. [544] He is one of the rare people believed to have seen Muhammad al-Mahdī, who is considered to be in oc-

[541] Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, I/598.

[542] Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Isa al-Ashʿarī Qommī, *al-Nawādir*, thk. Madrasa-e Imām Mahdī, Qom 1408/1987. One of the manuscripts of the book is in the library of Sayyid Mohsen Hakim in Najaf and the other is in the Asitāne al-Quds al-Razawī in Mashhad. The book, which has been reprinted in many editions, mainly contains fiqh hadiths.

[543] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 80; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, I/360-361.

[544] Majīd Mas'udī, *Pas az Dīdār bā Hujjat ibn al-Hasan al-Askarī Ahmad ibn Ishaq Qommī,* Dalīl-i Mā, Qom 1384/2005, 111.

cultation according to Shīʿite sources. He was known as "Wāfid al-Qommīyyīn" because he conveyed the various questions, gifts and financial obligations of the Qom people to Muhammad al-Mahdī during the first and second ambassadorial periods. His works include *ʿIlal al-Salāt*, *ʿIlal al-Sawm*, *Masā'il al-Rijāl li-Abī al-Hasan al-Sālis*.[545]

Muhammad b. ʿAli b. Mahbūb al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (d. end of 3rd/9th century)

al-Najāshī mentions him as a siqa, a faqīh and a follower of the sahih school of thought. Among the works attributed to him are *Kitāb al-Salāt*, *Kitāb al-Janāiz*, *Kitāb al-Zakāt*, *Kitāb al-Sawm*, *Kitāb al-Hajj*, *Kitāb al-Nikāh*, *Kitāb al-Ridā*, *Kitāb al-Talāq*, *Kitāb al-Hudūd*, *Kitāb al-Diyāt*, *al-Nūr fi al-Hukūmāt*, *Kitāb al-Zamrada*, *Kitāb al-Zabarjad*, and *Kitāb al-Nawādir*. [546]

Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Ashʿarī, Abū Jaʿfar al-Qommī (d. around 280/893)

He was one of the most important muhaddithis of the period of Ghaybah al-Sughra. He received knowledge from a large community of scholars. He is a siqa in hadith, but he has many narrations from weak people.[547] He narrated from Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Abī Nasr (d. 221/835) and Ahmad b. al-Hasan b. ʿAli. His *Kitāb al-Nawādir al-Hikma*[548] is said to have been highly appreci-

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[545] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 88; Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 70.

[546] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 333-334.

[547] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 332; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 247.

[548] It is narrated that this work is a collection consisting of 22 books. It includes the following works: *Kitāb al-Tawhid , Kitāb al-Wudūʿ, Kitāb al-Salāt, Kitāb al-Zakāt, Kitāb al-Sawm, Kitāb al-Hajj, Kitāb al-Nikāh, Kitāb al-Talaq, Kitāb al-Anbiyā, Kitāb al-Manāqıb al-Rijāl, Kitāb Fadl al-Arab, Kitāb Fadl al-Arabiyya wa al-Ajamiyya, Kitāb al-Wasāyā wa al-Sadaqa, Kitāb al-Nihal wa al-Hibat, Kitāb al-Suknā, Kitāb al-Awkāt, Kitāb al-Farāiz, Kitāb al-Īmān wa al-Nuzūr wa al-Kaffārā, Kitāb al-ʿItk wa al-Tadbīr wa al-Walā wa al-Makātib wa Ummuhāt al-Awlāt wa al-Diyāt, Kitāb al-Shahādāt, Kitāb*

ated by the people of Qom.[549] His other books include *Kitāb al-Jāmīʿ, Kitāb Mā Nazala min al-Qur'ān fi al-Husayn b. ʿAli Alaihimessalam,*[550] *Kitāb al-Malāhim, Kitāb al-Tibb, Kitāb al-Maqtal al-Husayn, Kitāb al-Imāmah* and *Kitāb al-Mazar*.[551]

Saʿd b. Abdillah, Abī Khalaf al-Qommī (d. 301/913-14)

Saʿd b. Abdillah is one of the leading scholars of the Imāmiyya, along with Abū Hātim Muhammad b. Idris al-Rāzī (d. 277/890), al-Hasan b. Urfa' al-Abdī al-Baghdādī (d. 257/870), Muhammad b. Abdulmalik al-Wāsitī studied under the leadership of al-Daqīqī (died 266/879) and Abbas ibn Abdullah ibn Abī Isa al-Tarqūfī (died 267/880). Scholars such as Ahmad ibn al-Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn Faddāl, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Isa al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, Ayyūb ibn Nūh ibn Darrāj al-Nahāī, Muhammad ibn al-Husayn ibn Abī al-Khattab al-Hamadanī and ʿAli ibn Mahziyār al-Ahwazī took lessons from him. Saʿd ibn Abdullah, who was a jurist and muhaddith, wrote many works to refute the views of various sects. Among his works mentioned in the sources are *Firaq al-Shīʿa, Kitāb al-Imāma, Kitāb al-Basāir al-Darajāt,*[552]*Kitāb al-Diyā fī al-Raddi ala al-Muhammadiyya wa al-Jaʿfariyya, Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Ghulāt, Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Mujabbira, Kitāb al-Istitāʿa, Kitāb al-Radd alā ʿAli ibn Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim fī ma'nī Hishām wa Yunus, Kitāb al-Muntahabāt, Kitāb al-Manākibi al-Shīʿa, Kitāb al-Rahma, Kitāb al-Jawā'ii al-Hajj, Kitāb al-Nasihi al-Qur'ān wa Mansūhihi wa Muhkamih al-Mutashābihi.*[553]

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al-Qadāyā wa al-Ahkām. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist,* 221).

[549] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* 333.

[550] Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 277.

[551] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* 332-333.

[552] The book was last edited by Mushtaq al-Muzaffer and published in Qom in 1421/2000.

[553] Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, I/385-386; Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, III/288.

Ahmad b. Idris, Abū ʿAli al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (d. 306/918)

al-Najāshī mentions Ahmad ibn Idris al-Qommī as a reliable, jurist, a narrator of many hadiths (Kathīr al-Hadith) and whose narrations are authentic (Sahīh al-Riwāya). He saw ʿAli al-Hādī but did not narrate any hadith from him. He has a work called *Kitāb al-Nawādir*.[554] He narrated from Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Isa and Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Mahbūb. ʿAli ibn Husayn ibn Mūsā, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Walīd, al-Kulaynī and Ibn Qūlawayh were his students and narrated from him.[555]

Bābawayh Family

The Bābawayh family is an influential family that played a significant role in the institutionalization and spread of the Imāmiyya as a school of thought. The most well-known members of this family are:

ʿAli b. Husayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh, Abū al-Hasan al-Qommī (d. 329/940)

He was the father of Muhammad b. Ali, known as Shaykh Sadūq. Ali b. Husayn b. Mūsā al- Qommī (d. 329/940) lived between 260-329/873-940, the period of ghaybah when the imām was expected, and was also known as "Sadūq al-Awwal". Ali b. Husayn, who was the political and scholarly leader of the city of Qom during his lifetime, responded harshly to the claim of Hallāj al-Mansur (d. 309/922) to the claim of al-Manṣur (d. 309/922) to be the Prophet, and thus al-Hallāj left Qom.[556] Ali b. Husayn, who lived in Qom and traveled back and forth to Ray, along with his sons Husayn b. Ali and Muhammad b. Ali, left a deep mark on the generations that followed them with the works they wrote. It

554 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* 89.
555 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 411; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, I/404.
556 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Ghayba li al-Hujja*, 402-403.

has been claimed that Muhammad al-Mahdī, who was accepted as the twelfth Imam, sent a letter praising him and his two sons.[557] He was one of the leading jurists, muhaddiths and scholars of his time. He visited Baghdād in 328/939 and met with the third Safīr Husayn b. Rūh. He established liaison between the ambassadors in Baghdāt and the Qommīs and played a major role in overcoming this troubled period for the Imāmiyya faith. He debated with Abū ʿAbdullah Muhammad b. Muqātil al-Rāzī on the issue of imāmat and left his mark on his Shiʿism.[558] He is known to be the first to create chapters in fiqhī narrations by omitting the isnad. This method has been taken as an example by the Imāmiyya jurists of both the usūlī and akhbārī tendencies to this day.[559]

He narrated from Ahmad b. Idris al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, Saʿd b. ʿAbdullah al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, ʿAbdullah b. Jaʿfar al-Khimyarī, Muhammad b. Yahyā al-Attār, and ʿAli b. al-Hasan b. ʿAli b. ʿAbdullah b. al-ʿAbdullah b. al-Mughīra al-Bajalī. It is narrated that among those who narrated from him were his sons, Shaykh Sadūq and Abū ʿAbdullah al-Husayn, Ahmad b. Dāwud al-Qommī, Jaʿfar b. Muhammad al-Kūlawayh. According to Ibn Nadim, the number of his books reaches two hundred.[560] His work *al-Imāma wa al-Tabsira min al-Hayrah*,[561] which deals with the issue of the absence of Muhammad al-Mahdī, has reached us. In addition, a small part of his work titled *Qurb al-Isnād* has survived in Muqaddas Ardabīlī's *Hadīqat al-Shīʿa*.[562]

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[557] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 250-51.

[558] Mirza Abdullah Efendi Isfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlemā wa Hiyāḍ al-Fudalā*, I-VI, trans. Muhammad Bāqir Sāidī, 2nd edition, Mashhad 1389/2010, IV/22-23.

[559] Jabbarī, *Maktab-e Hadīthi-ye Qom*, 205.

[560] Ibn al-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 246; this figure is probably the sum of his books and those of his son, Shaykh Sadūq.

[561] ʿAli ibn Husayn Qommī, *al-Imāma wa al-Tabsira min al-Hayrah*, thk. Sayyid Muhammad Ridā Hosseini Jalali, Qom 1412/1992.

[562] Muqaddes Ardabīlī, *Hadīqat al-Shīʿa*, tsh. Sādiq Hasanzāda, Intishārāt-e Ansāriyān, Qom 1387/2008, II/972, 993.

Ali b. Husayn al-Qommī's works include *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Wudūʿ, Kitāb al-Janāiz, Kitāb al-Imlā Nawādir, Kitāb al-Ikhwān, Kitāb al-Nisā wa al-Waladān, Kitāb al-Sharāiʿ, Kitāb al-Nikāh, Kitāb al-Tibb, Kitāb al-Mawārīs, Kitāb al-Miʿrāj, Kitāb al-Tafsīr, Kitāb al-Salāt, Kitāb al-Mantiq, Kitāb al-Taslīm, Kitāb al-Manāsiki al-Hajj*.

Husayn b. ʿAli b. Husayn b. Mūsā b. Bābāwayh al-Qommī (d. around 385/995)

Husayn b. ʿAli Bābawayh, the brother of Shaykh Ṣadūq, was one of the leading scholars of the Imāmiyya. He received his early education from his father and brother. He also learned from al-Husayn b. Ahmad b. Idris al-Qommī, Jaʿfar b. Muhammad b. Malik al-Fazārī, and al-Saffār. His son al-Hasan, Sharif al-Murtazā (d. 436/1044), al-Husayn b. Ubaydullah al-Ghazāirī (d. 411/1020), Abū al-Abbas Ahmad b. ʿAli b. Nuh al-Sayrafī, Sayyid Abū Hāshim Muhammad b. Hamza b. al-Husayn al-Marʿashī, Abūʾl-Qāsim ʿAli b. Muhammad b. ʿAli al-Hazzāz narrated from him. Husayn b. ʿAli Bābawayh left works such as *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd wa Nafy al-Tashbīh, Kitāb al-ʿAmel li al-Sāhib Abū al-Qāsim b. ʿAbbād,*[563] *and al-Radd alā al-Wāqifa.* [564]

Barqī Family

One of the important families in the city was the Barqī family. The members of this family migrated from Kūfa and settled in Barqarūd, one of the villages of Qom, and became the mawlā of the Ashʿar tribe. The Barqīs played an important role in making the city of Qom a center of Shiʿi hadith activities and in the collection and transmission of hadith narrations to the next generations. Although they were criticized from time

[563] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 157; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 251; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, II/115-116.
[564] Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, II/99-100.

to time for accepting narrations from weak people, they were a major source for the Kutub al-Arbaaʿ. The most important members of the family are Muhammad b. Khālid (d. 3rd/9th century) Hasan b. Khālid (d. 3rd/9th century), Fadl b. Khālid (d. 3rd/9th century), Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Khālid (d. 274-280/887-893).[565] Some of the well-known members of the family are as follows:

Muhammad b. Khālid al-Barqī, Abū Abdullah al-Qommī (3rd/9th century)

He was originally from Kūfa and was a mawlā of the Ashʿar tribe. Shīʿite sources mention that he was weak in hadith, but gifted in literature, akhbār, and ʿulūm al-Arab.[566] Shaykh Tūsī counts him among the companions of Mūsā al-Kāzim and ʿAli al-Ridā.[567] Some of his books are *Kitāb al-Tanzīl wa al-Taʿbīr*, *Kitāb al-Yawm wa al-Laylā*, *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*, *Kitāb al-Makkah wa al-Madina*, *Kitāb al-Khurūb al-Aws wa al-Hazraj*, *Kitāb al-ʿIlal*, *Kitāb fīʿIlm al-Bārī*, *Kitāb al-Khutab*[568] *and Kitāb al-Nawādir*.[569]

Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Khālid al-Barqī (d. 274-280/887-893)

He is one of the most prolific narrators of hadith in Qom. After his great-grandfather Muhammad b. ʿAli, Zayd b. ʿAli, was assassinated in 122/740, he fled from Kūfa to the village of Barqarūd in Qom with his son ʿAbd al-Rahman and his grandson Khālid, who was still a

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[565] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 320.

[566] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 320.

[567] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 343, 363; Allāma al-Hillī counts him only among the companions of ʿAli al-Ridā. (See *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 237.)

[568] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 320; Ibn Nadim, attributes to him the works *Kitāb al-Uwayth, Kitāb al-Tabsira, Kitāb al-Rijāl. (See al-Fihrist,* 276). However, this information cannot be confirmed in other Shīʿite sources.

[569] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 226.

young boy, and took refuge there. Hence his family became known by the nickname al-Barqī.[570] He and his father, Muhammad, faced the reaction of Qom's hadith scholars because they had a large number of narrations from people who were considered weak in hadith and had narrated many mursal hadiths, [571] and he was expelled from Qom by Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Isa (d. after 274/887), who was considered the leader of Qom at the time. Later, realizing that he had wronged him, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Isa apologized. [572] He is the author of *al-Mahāsin*[573] and *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt*, the oldest surviving works of the Qom Akhbārī Shīʿite school of hadīth. Ibn Khājar attributes the works *Ihtilāf al-Hadīth* and *al-ʿIyāfa wa al-Qiyāfa* to him. [574]

Muhammad b. Abī al-Qāsim b. Imrān al-Janānī Abū ʿUbaydullah al-Barqī (d. late 3rd/9th century)

He was the son-in-law of Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Barqī. He is known by the nickname "Mājīlawayh". Al-Najāshī described him as a siqa, scholar, jurist, scholar, and one of the leading Shiʿites in Qom. In addition to his book *al-Mashārib*, which contains ha-

[570] Mirza Muhammad Bāqir Musawī Khansārī, *Rawdāt al-Jannāt fi Ahwāl al-ʿUlamā wa al-Sādāt*, I-VII, Muassasa-e Ismāʿīlīyān, Tehran 1390/2011, I/44.

[571] Mursal Hadith, which is considered a weak hadith type in the Shīʿite hadith methodology, is used for hadiths in which the narrator does not reach people who are considered innocent. (See Abdullah Ünalan, *Şîa'da Hadis Usûlü*, İşrak yay., İstanbul 2008, 132.)

[572] Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 63.

[573] Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, thk. Jalāl al-Dīn Muhaddis, Dāru al-Kutubi al-Islamiyya, Qom 1371/1951: This is the first verified copy of the work. While the work is a Jamiʿ type work consisting of over 100 chapters on subjects such as belief, jurisprudence, etiquette and wisdom, only 11 chapters have reached us in two volumes. These are: *Kitāb al-Ashkāl wa al-Qarāin*, *Kitāb Sawāb al-Aʿmal*, *Kitāb ʿIkāb al-Aʿmal*, *Kitāb al-Safwa wa al-Nūr wa al-Zulme*, *Kitāb Masābīb al-Zulm*, *Kitāb al-ʿIlal*, *Kitāb al-Safar*, *Kitāb al-Maʿkal*, *Kitāb al-Māa*, *Kitāb al-Manāfiʿ*, *Kitāb al-Marāfik*. Ibn Nadim erroneously attributes this work to his father, Muhammad ibn Khālid al- Barkî. (See *al-Fihrist*, 276).

[574] Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, I/601.

diths from the Prophet, *Kitāb al-Tafsīr al-Hamāsat Abī Tammām* is attributed to him.[575]

Important Places for Shiʿism

The Shrine of Fātima bt. Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar (Fātima Maʿsūma)

Fātima bt. Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar (d. 201/816) and her shrine in Qom have a very important place for today's Shīʿa world. In addition to being the second most visited religious site in Khorasan after the shrine of her brother ʿAli al-Ridā in the city of Mashhad, she played an active role in gaining the Shīʿa identity of the city and passing it on to the next generations through the legends and religious rituals created around her shrine from the first centuries.

One of the first sources to mention the story of Fātima's arrival in Qom is *Tarīkh-e Qom*. According to him, Fātima wanted to visit her brother ʿAli al-Ridā when he was in Marw and set out from Medina to Khorasan. When she fell ill near Sāwa, she asked, "How far is it between us and Qom?" and when she was told that it was ten farsah, she directed her travel to Qom. He died there after being a guest for seventeen days in the house of Mūsā b. Hazraj b. Ṣadī al-Ashʿarī (d. 3rd/9th century). First, a shade canopy made of straw was built where his shrine is located, and then a dome was built over it by Zaynab, the daughter of Muhammad b. ʿAli al-Ridā.[576] Since the first days of its construction, it has been heavily visited by Shiʿites and has played an important role in the perpetuation of Shiʿism in the city with the legendary literature produced about visiting this place. [577]

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[575] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* 337-338; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 260.

[576] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 308-309.

[577] Strange, claimed that although Qom was touted as a Shīʿa city from the early centuries, there is no information in al-Qazwīnī and other early sources about

The shrine of Fātima was initially a simple structure, but first during the Buyids and then during the Seljuk Sultan Tughrul Bag (d. 455/1063) its dome was renewed together with other structures in the city, and it was made more compact.[578] Right next to his shrine is a cemetery named "Maqbara-e Shaykhān". Names such as Zakariya b. Adam, Adam b. Ishaq, Zakariya b. Idris, who were the narrators of the imāms especially in the early periods, were buried here. Especially since the Safawids, important names from the ulama continued to be buried here. Today, it remains an important place of visitation.

Due to the desire to bury the bodies in Qom, especially near the Fātima shrine, there are many public and private cemeteries in the city. One of these is the cemetery in the "Ridāiyya Mosque", built in the place where ʿAli al-Ridā is believed to have visited the city. As far as we know, the first person from Sādāt to be buried here in Qom was Muhammad Azīzī, who lived in Qom in the 3rd/9th century. He was killed in Nahrawan while he was going to Baghdād, and his body was taken to Qom and buried in the Ridāiyya Mosque, which became a place of pilgrimage.[579] After him, many people from Sādāt continued to be buried in this cemetery.

The foundations connected to the shrine played a major role in the development of the city of Qom. According to *Tārīkh-e Qom*, various foundations were established around the shrine

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the grave of Fāṭima being located there. (See *The Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, 210.) However, this information must be erroneous. Because the information that is not found in al-Qazwīnī's *Nuzhat al-Qulūb* can be found in the same author's *Tārīkh al-Ghozīda*. (See Hamdollah al-Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī, *Tārīkh al-Ghozīda*, ed. Hamdullah Nawāī, 5th edition, Amir Kebir, Tehran 1387/2008, 205.) In addition, early sources such as *Tārīkh-e Qom*, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, *Naqd* and *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā* explicitly mention this burial place and mention that it is visited by Sunnīs and Shiites.

578 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 236.

579 Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 322.

of Fātima immediately after she was buried here. The first of these, as far as we know, was during the time of Hasan al-ʿAskarī. During this period, Hasan al-ʿAskarī appointed Ahmad b. Ishaq al-Ashʿarī (d. late 3rd/9th century) as the representative of his foundations.[580] ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī (d. 560/1164) mentions that scholarly assemblies gathered around Fāṭima's shrine, various charitable institutions belonging to the sultans of the period were active, and that there was a lively life in the city in this respect. [581]

There are hundreds of narrations and miracles related to the shrine of Fātima in Shīʿite literature. Especially the narration in the earliest sources that visiting this shrine means entering heaven[582] is written in all visible places of the city even today, thus keeping the sacredness of this place of visit alive in people's minds. In this context, it can be easily said that the shrines of Fātima and other Imāms played an active role in Qom gaining a religious and sectarian identity.[583]

Jamkarān Mosque

The Mosque of Jamkarān is a site of significant cultural and religious importance, particularly in the context of the city of Qom's Shiʿi identity. Jamkarān is a small village located about five kilometers southeast of Qom. According to Shiʿite narrations, what gives this village its value is the "Jamkarān Mosque", also known as "Masjid al-Sāhib al-Zamān", which is rumored

[580] Faqīhī, *Tārīkh-e Mazhabī-ye Qom*, 215.

[581] 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 211.

[582] Jaʿfar ibn Muhammad al-Qommī Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, thk. Jawād al-Qayyūmī, 5th edition, Nashru al-Fuqaha, Qom 1429/2009, 536; Shaykh Sadūq, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, II/648.

[583] Faqīhī, *Tārīkh-e Mazhabī-ye Qom*, 232; This situation continues to exist with all its liveliness today. In Qom, the corpses are brought to the shrine and buried after being paraded around, especially on Thursday afternoons and Fridays.

to have been built in the 4th/10th century on the instructions of Muhammad b. Hasan, whom Shīʿa considers to be the twelfth Imām and Mahdī.

There is no information about the construction of the masjid in early primary sources. However, the narrations we have are based on quotations made in later centuries from the unavailable parts of the *Tārīkh-e Qom*. Accordingly, in Shaykh Sadūq's *Mūnith al-Khazīn fī Maʿrifat al-Haqq al-Yaqīn*,[584] which we do not have today, there is information about the construction of this mosque based on eyewitness accounts for the first time. Hasan b. Muhammad, the author of *Tārīkh-e Qom*, transmitted these narrations from the work of his contemporary Shaykh Sadūq, but since the extant parts of *Tārīkh-e Qom* do not contain this information, the relevant narrations were transmitted by the authors known to have the complete Persian translation of the work made in the 8th/14th century. In these narrations, it is mentioned that the unseen Muhammad al-Mahdī appeared in the dreams of some people and ordered them to build the masjid, and as a result, it was built. Through these narrations, all the possibilities of manāqib literature were used to manipulate the religious feelings of the people, and this was achieved to a great extent. On the one hand, these and similar narrations conveyed the message that the Imām, who was believed to be absent, was always watching over the Shiʿite community, and on the other hand, through institutionalized places, his memory was kept on the agenda and group solidarity was aimed to increase. As a matter of fact, even today, thousands of people gather in this masjid every Thursday evening and worship has

[584] Neither Shaykh Sadūq nor any other author has a book with this title in any of the sources.

become an important ritual. Some clerics in Iran believe that contact with the Mahdī continues in this masjid.

Imāmzādah Shrines

As in other cities, the shrines of Imamzāda are among the most important religious-sectarian places in Qom. One of the most important shrines in Qom after the shrine of Fātima is the shrine of Mūsā al-Mubarqaʿ b. Muḥammad b. ʿAli (d. 296/908), the son of Muḥammad al-Jawād (d. 220/835). Mūsā migrated from Kūfa to Qom in 256/869. After staying here for a while, he went to Kāshān, and then with the encouragement of Arabs from Kūfa, such as money and goods, he settled back in Qom, invited his sisters from Kūfa and stayed here, and died in Qom in 296/908. After his death, a shrine was built in his name and most of the later Sādāt were buried in this place called "Mashhad-i Mūsā".[585]

Madrasahs

There is no information about the existence of madrasas in Qom until 378/988, when the work was written, in the parts of *Tārīkh-e Qom* that we have or do not have. The earliest record of madrasas in Qom belongs to ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī. In 556/1160, when *Naqd* was written, nine madrasas in Qom belonging to the Shiʿites are mentioned.[586] None of these madrasahs, which are understood to have been built mostly during the Seljuk period, have survived to the present day.[587]

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[585] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 311-313; al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 73; Ibn ʻAnba, *Umdat al-Tālib*, 113

[586] These are: Madrasa-e Saʿd Sulb, Madrasa-e Athīru'l-Mulk, Madrasa-e Sayyid Saʿid ʿIzzuddin Murtazā, Madrasa-e Imām Zayn al-Dīn Amīra-i Sherefshah, Mashhad-e Fātima bt. Mūsā Jafar, Madrasa-e Zahīruddin Abdulaziz, Madrasa-e Ustad Abū al-Hasan Kemīj, Madrasa-e Shamsuddin Murtaza, Madrasa-e Murteza Kabīr Sharafuddin. (See ʻAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 210-211.)

[587] Mudarrisī, Husayn, "Madāris-e Qadīm-i Qom", *Majalla-e Wahīd*, 86 (Tehran 1349/1970), 206.

Qom in Shīʿa Literature

In Shīʿa literature, the city of Qom has a special place. This special position is first evident in the names given to it.[588] On the other hand, there are quite different and interesting narrations about the name Qom being given to the city. According to this; when the Prophet ascended to heaven, he was shown the land where Qom is located and he saw that Iblis was there and he descended there with Gabriel. He said to Iblis (The Demon): *"Qom!" (get up, go), this is the pure land of me and my children."*[589]

There is an intense accumulation of narrations about the virtues of the city of Qom, starting from the oldest sources. Let's list some of them:

According to the narration from ʿAli, Qom is a haven to take refuge in times of strife.[590] Again, there is a narration from ʿAli:

"Peace be upon the people of Qom, may Allah's mercy be upon the people of Qom. Allah sent down rain upon their land and blessed them. Allah changes their evil into good. They are the people of bowing down, standing in humility, prostration, standing and fasting. Their faqīhs have strong perception. They are the people of dirāya and wilāyah, the people of Hosni Abbād."[591]

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[588] In the historical process, dozens of names were given to the city to reinforce its spiritual identity. These include Zahra, Arz al-Jabal, Kıt'atun Min Bayt al-Muqaddes, Majmau Ansar al-Qāim, Haram al-Ahl al-Bayt, Mutahhara, Muqaddasa, Hujjatun al-Bilād, Bahr, Ma'wā li al-Fātimiyyīn, Muṣtarāhen li al-Mu'minīn, ʿIshshu al-Muhammad, Mādanan li al-Shīʿa, Kūfatun Saghīra, Mawāli al-Shīʿa al-Muhammad, Maʿdanan li al-Ilm wa al-Fadl, Muqassim al-Jabbarīn, Muzābb al-Jabbarīn, Balad al-'Ameem, Balad li al-Shīʿati al-Ameem, Amanun li al-Hāifīn, Mafdaun li al-Muminīn, Mafarrun li al-Haribīn, al-Madfūa Anha al-Balā, al-Marfūa, Anha al-Balā, Anha al-Balā al-Meftūhatu Ileyhā Babu'l-Jenne, Beled al-Amin, Mukhtāru al-Bilād be shown. (See Nāinī, Muhammad ʿAli ibn Husayn ibn ʿAli ibn Bahāaddin, *Anwār al-Musha'shi'īn fi Zikri Sharafati Qom wa al-Qommīyyin*, I-III, thk. Muhammad Ridā Ansari Qommī, Ketābhāne-i Bozorg-i Hazrat Ayatollah 'ul-Uzmā Marʿashī Najafī, 2002/1423, I/262.)

[589] Shaykh Sadūq, *Ilal al-Sharāyiʿ*, Dāwarī Nashriyat, Qom, II/572.

[590] Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, 532.

[591] 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 213; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/83-84.

According to the narration from Jaʿfar al-Sādiq:

"*Allah's sanctuary is Mecca, the sanctuary of the Messenger is Medina, the sanctuary of the Amīr al-Muminīn is Kūfa, and my sanctuary and that of my children is Qom. Qom is our little Kūfa. Paradise has eight gates, three of which are in Qom. One of my children, Fātima bt. Mūsā, will be buried there. Through her intercession, our Shīʿa will enter Paradise.*"[592]

According to another narration from Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, "*When a fitna befalls Qom and its surroundings will be protected*."[593]

Saʿd b. Saʿd b. al-Ahwas narrated from ʿAli al-Ridā: "*I asked the Imām about the visit of Fātima bt. Mūsā. He said: O Saʿd, whoever visits there is from the people of Paradise.*"[594] According to another narration from Muhammad al-Jawad, whoever visits my aunt in Qom, there is Paradise for him." [595] In another narration from ʿAli al-Ridā: "*Paradise has eight gates, one of which is for the people of Qom.*"[596]According to another narration from the Imāms: "If it were not for the Qom people, religion would have been lost."[597]

The virtuous literature on Qom, of which we have listed only a small part, shows us the place of the city in Shiʿi thought and the intensive use of narrative culture to reinforce this position and to ascribe sanctity to the city.

Other Important Shīʿa Figures

Ibrahim b. Hāshim, Abū Ishaq al-Qommī (d. 3rd/9th century)

Originally from Kūfa, he later settled in Qom. He is men-

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[592] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 310-311; 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 211.
[593] Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/83.
[594] Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, 536; 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Nakd*, 212; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/83.
[595] Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, 536.
[596] Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/83.
[597] al-Majlisī, *Bihāru al-Anwār*, LVII/217.

tioned in Shīʿite hadith history as the first person to bring the hadith accumulation of Kūfa to Qom.[598] He was one of the companions of ʿAli al-Ridā and also a student of Yūnūs b. Abdurrahman.[599] We are in possession of his book entitled *Qadāyā Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.[600] The book, in which the rulings of ʿAli on various subjects are collected, was transmitted to the following centuries by his son ʿAli b. Ibrāhim b. Hāshim (d. after 307/919). Considering that Abū Hanīfa attributed a book called *al-Qadiyya* to the ʿAli,[601] it is understood that the work, which was known in the scholarly circles in Kūfa, was carried to Khorasan by Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim. The work, which has various editions, was finally edited and published in Qom in 1389/2010 by Muhammad Bāqir Bābānuyā. Ibrahim b. Hāshim is said to have written another book called *Kitāb al-Nawādir*.[602] He made significant contributions to the spread of Shiʿism in the region through the hadiths he published in and around Qom.[603] He was one of the first to circulate the hadiths on Khums in Shiʿi jurisprudence and his name is very common in the chain of narrators of Shiʿi hadith collections. Among those who narrated from him are Muhammad b. Abī ʿUmayr, Safwan b. Yahyā, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Abī Nasr Bazantī, Hammad b. Isa, Abdullah b. Mughīre,

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598 Shaykh Tūsī, al- *Fihrist*, 35-36; al-Najāshī emphasizes that this information belongs to al-Kashshī. (al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 19-20.); Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, I/376.

599 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 353; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 19; Since Ibrahim b. Hāshim did not narrate hadith directly from Yunus ibn Abdurrahman and ʿAli al-Ridā, it is debatable whether these names were his companions or students. (Cf. Ghulamʿ Ali Abbas Fardūyī, *ʿAli ibn Ibrahim; Muhaddith, Faqīh and Mufassir-e Bozorg-e Qur'an-e Karīm*, Intishārāt-i Zāir, Qom 1389/2010, 56-57.)

600 Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim Qommī, *Qadāyā Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, trans. Muhammad Bākir Bābānuyā, Intishārāt-e Zāir, Qom 1389/2010.

601 *İmâm-ı A'zam'ın Beş Eseri*, çev. Mustafa Öz, İFAV yay., 4. Baskı, İstanbul 2008, 67.

602 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 35-36.

603 Khūyī, *Muʿjamu Rijāl al-Hadith*, I/316 ff.

Hasan b. Mahbūb.[604] Each of these individuals was a prominent Shiʿi scholar of Kūfa who contributed both theoretically and practically to the development of Shiʿi thought. Among those who narrated from him were his son ʿAli b. Ibrahim al-Qommī, Ahmad b. Idris al-Qommī, Saʿd b. ʿAbdullah al-Ashʿarī, ʿAbdullah b. Jaʿfar al-Himyarī, and Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Yahyā.

Husayn b. 'Ubaydallah al-Sa'd, Abū Abdullah el-Qommī (d. 270/883)

He is among the companions of ʿAli al-Hādī. al-Kashshī and Shaykh Tūsī mention that he had esoteric ideas and even that he was expelled from Qom because of these ideas, but they do not give information about what these ideas were.[605] On the other hand, if we look at the fact that the narration in al-Kulaynī that before creating the universe, Allah created Muhammad and ʿAli in the form of a bodiless light and then these two lights were combined and Muhammad, ʿAli, Hasan and Husayn and then Fātima were created is included in the chain of transmission,[606] it can be said that Husayn ibn Ubaydullah received a reaction because he tried to spread such narrations. He narrated from Ibrāhim ibn Hāshim al-Kūfī, al-Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn Abī ʿUthman and Mūsā ibn ʿUmar. Among those who narrated from him were Ahmad ibn Idris al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (d. 306/918), Saʿd b. Abdillah b. Abī Khalaf al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, Muhammad b. Yahyā al-Attār al-Qommī, Ahmad b. ʿAli al-Faidī. Sources attribute *al-Tawhid, al-Imāmah,*[607] *al-Mu'min*

[604] Fardūyī, *ʿAli ibn Ibrahim*, 150.

[605] In al-Kashshī, his name is mentioned as Husayn ibn Ubaydullah al-Muharrir. (See *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 363); Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 386; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 338-339; Khūyī, *Muʿjamu Rijāl al-Hadith*, VI/25

[606] al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, I/440.

[607] ʿAli ibn Hātim (d. after 350/961) narrated from this book. (See, Aghabozorg al-

wa al-Muslim,[608] *al-Mutʿa*,[609] *al-Maqt wa al-Tawbih*, *al-Mazar* and *al-Nawādir* to him.[610]

Muhammad b. Ismail el-Barmaqī el-Qommī (d. after 260/873 ?)

He is known by the title "Sāhib al-Sawmaʿa'". He was not originally from Qom but resided here.[611] He is considered siqa by Shiʿite muhaddiths. He narrated from al-Husayn b. al-Hasan b. Burd al- Dīnawarī, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Muhtadī b. Muhammad al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, al-Hasan b. ʿAli b. Faddāl (d. 224/838), ʿAli b. al-ʿAbbas al-Kharāzīnī al-Rāzī, and Mūsā b. ʿAbdullah al-Nāhaī. Among those who narrated from him were Muhammad b. Jaʿfar b. Muhammad b. ʿAwn al-Asadī al-Kūfī al-Rāzī (d. 312/924), Hamdawayh b. Nusayr al-Kashshī, his brother Ibrahim b. Nusayr, Abū ʿAli Ahmad b. Idris al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī (d. 306/918). He wrote a work called *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*. This book was transmitted by Muhammad b. Jaʿfar al-Asadī, one of the deputies of the Imāms and a resident of Ray.[612]

Muhammad b. Yahyā al-Attar al-Qommī (d. late 3rd/9th century)

al-Najāshī mentions him as the Shaykh of Qommīs, a trust-

Taḥranī, *al-Zarīʿa ilā Tasānifi al-Shīʿa*, I-XXVI, Ismāʿīlīyyān, Qom 1408/1986, II/324.)

608 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 110; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 57; al-Taḥranī, *al-Zarīʿa*, XIX/64-65; Mirza Afandi says that he has a copy of the book. (See *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlemā*, II/200.)

609 al-Najāshī gives some information about the content of the book that has not reached us. These include topics such as faith and the attributes of a believer, there is no faith without deeds, faith increases and decreases, there is no faith without taqiyya, continuity of faith, continuity of Islam, Muslim children, branches of faith, envy eats away at faith, renewal of faith, a mustard seed-sized piece of faith that will not enter the fire. (See *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 43.)

610 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 43; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, I/380-381.

611 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 326; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 257-258.

612 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 326; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, I/415.

worthy, well-known hadith scholar and author.[613] He was one of the students of Muhammad ibn Yahyā, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Isa. He is among the Shaykhs from whom al-Kulaynī received the most narrations. The works named are attributed to him: *Kitāb Maqtal al-Husayn*, *Kitāb al-Nawādir.*

Muhammad b. al- Hasan b. Farrūh, Abū Jaʿfar al-Saffār al-Qommī (d. 290/903)

Saffār al-Qommī, who was the mawlā of the Ashʿar tribe according to al-Najāshī, was considered one of the leading hadith scholars of Qom in his time.[614] Shaykh Tūsī counts him as one of the companions of Hasan al-Askarī.[615] He is one of the narrators and students of Muhammad b. Hasan b. Walīd al-Qommī. He narrated from Hasan al-Askarī and consists of issues. Although it is mentioned that he had a work called *Mumavvalah* (ممولة),[616] his real fame comes from his work called *Basāir al-Darajāt fī Fadāil-i Āl-i Muhammad*,[617] which has survived to the present day. Comprising a total of 1881 hadith narrations on Kalām and Fadāil, this book formalizing the hadith corpus written after him, including *Bihār al-Anwār* and *Waṣā'il al-Shīʿa*, and is still recognized as an important work by Shiʿites today. Brockelmann considers him the true founder of Imāmiyya jurisprudence in the Persian lands. [618] Saffār al-Qommī's books include *Kitāb al-Salāt, Kitāb al-Wudū', Kitāb al-Janā'iz, Kitāb al-Sıyām, Kitāb al-Hajj, Kitāb al-Nikāh, Kitāb al-Talāq, Kitāb al-Itk wa*

[613] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī, 337*; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 260.
[614] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 338; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 260-61; Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, III/287.
[615] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 402.
[616] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 402; Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 220.
[617] Brockelmann states that the work is an expanded version of Saʿd ibn Abdullah al-Qommī's work of the same name. (See *Tarīh Adab al-Arabī*, II/362.)
[618] Brockelmann, *Tārīkh al-Adabī al-Arabī*, II/362.

al-Tadbīr wa al-Mukātaba, Kitāb al-Tijārā, Kitāb al-Maqāsib, Kitāb al-Sayd wa al-Zabāih, Kitāb al-Hudūd, Kitāb al-Diyāt, Kitāb al-Farā'iz, Kitāb al-Mawārīs, Kitāb al-Duʿā, Kitāb al-Mazār, Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Ghulāt, Kitāb al-Ashriba, Kitāb al-Muruvwa, Kitāb al-Zuhd, Kitāb al-Khums, Kitāb al-Zakāt, Kitāb al-Shahādāt, Kitāb al-Malāhim, Kitāb al-Taqiyya, Kitāb al-Mu'min, Kitāb al-Imān wa al-Nusūr wa al-Kaffārāt, Kitāb al-Manāqib, Kitāb al-Masālib, Kitāb al-Ruwiya fī Awlād al-Imāma, Kitāb al-Ruwiya fī Shaʿbān, Kitāb al-Jihād, Kitāb al-Fadl al-Qur'an. [619]

ʿAli b. Ibrāhim b. Hāshim al-Qommī (d. after 307/919)

ʿAli b. Ibrāhim, who was a Muhaddith, commentator, mutakallimun and jurist, took lessons from his father, Ibrāhim ibn Hāshim, who was an important scholar, and became the carrier of the hadith narrations transmitted through him. He is among the Shīʿa hadith scholars who narrated a large number of hadith. It is seen that he is included in the chain of narration of 7140 hadiths in the Shīʿa hadith collections.[620] The only work by ʿAli ibn Ibrahim that has survived to the present day is his work called *Kitāb al-Tafsir,* also known as *Tafsir al-Qommī*. Although Shīʿite authors say that this work was written using the narrated interpretation method,[621] ʿAli ibn Ibrāhim often put his own views ahead of the narrations or preferred narrations that were compatible with his own views. For this reason, the work can be considered an early example of acumen interpretation.[622] There are many editions of this work, in which a commentary of some selected verses from each sura rather than all the vers-

[619] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* 338.
[620] Khūyī, *Muʿjamu Rijāl al-Hadith*, XI/194.
[621] Fardūyī, *ʿAli ibn Ibrahim*, 415; Jabbārī, *Maktab-e Ḥadīsi-ye Qom*, 283.
[622] For detailed information about the work, see Aslan Habibov, *İlk Dönem Şiî Tefsir Anlayışı*, (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis), AÜSBE, Ankara 2007, 70-72.

es of the Quran is made. This work influenced all the Shīʿite interpretations that followed it, and its influence has continued to the present day.[623] ʿAli ibn Ibrāhim narrated from Ibrāhim ibn Hāshim, Ahmad ibn Ishaq al-Qommī, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Isa al-Ashʿarī al-Qommī, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khālid al-Barqī, Husayn ibn Saʿīd al-Ahwazī, Muhammad ibn Husayn ibn Abī al-Khattab, Ayyūb ibn Nūh, Rayyān ibn Salt.[624] Among his students who narrated from him is al-Kulaynī, who included his narrations in almost all the headings of his work *Usūl al-Kāfi*. Apart from him, some of his other students are Abū Muhammad al-Hasan ibn Hamza ibn ʿAli al-Alawī, ʿAli ibn Husayn ibn Mūsā ibn Bābawayh al-Qommī, Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Ahmad ibn al-Walīd al-Qommī, Shaykh Sadūq Muhammad ibn ʿAli.[625] He had works such as *Kitāb al-Tafsīr, Kitāb al-Nāsih wa al-Mansūh, Kitāb al-Maghāzī, Kitāb al-Sharāyiʿ*,[626] *Kitāb al-Qurb al-Isnād, Kitāb al-Tawḥīd wa al-Shirk, Kitāb al-Hayz, Kitāb al-Mushazzir, Kitāb al-Faḍāili Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Kitāb al-Anbiyā, Risāla fī Maʿnā Hishām and Yūnus, Jawābāt Masāili Saalahu Muhammad b. Bilāl*.[627] Ibn Nadim mentioned two more books, *Kitāb al-Manāqib* and *Kitāb al-Ihtiyār al-Qur'ān*, but did not mention his well-known tafsīr. [628]

Abdullah b. Jaʿfar al-Khimyarī, Abū al-Abbas al-Qommī (d. around 310/922)

Although Shaykh Tūsī says that ʿAbdullah b. Jaʿfar al-Khimyarī was one of the companions of ʿAli al-Hādī and Hasan al-

[623] Fardūyī, *ʿAli ibn Ibrahim*, 416-419.
[624] Fardūyī, *ʿAli ibn Ibrahim*, 250-251.
[625] Fardūyī, *ʿAli ibn Ibrahim*, 458.
[626] Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, V/477.
[627] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 249.
[628] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 152; Ibn Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 277.

ʿAskarī,[629] it seems unlikely that he met the Imāms, since the record in al-Najāshī says that he came to Kūfa around 290/902.[630] Abdullah b. Jaʿfar al-Khimyarī, a shaykh and a prominent figure among the Qommītes, is included in the *isnad* chain of more than 180 hadiths in the *Kutub al-Arbaa*. The only book of his that has survived is *Qurb al-Isnād*. [631] It contains mostly fiqh narrations from the twelve imams. The only parts that have survived are the narrations about Jaʿfar al-Sadiq, Mūsā al-Kāzim, and ʿAli al-Ridā. According to the sources, ʿAbdullah b. Jaʿfar al-Khimyarī's *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Imāma, Kitāb al-Dalā'il, Kitāb al-ʿAẓamah wa al-Tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Tawḥīd wa al-Badā wa al-Irāda wa al-Istitāa wa al-Maʿrifa, Kitāb al-Ghayba, Kitāb al-Tibb, Kitāb al-Masā'il wa al-Tawqīāt, Qurb al-Isnād ilā Abī Jaʿfar al-Ridā, Kitāb Mā bayna Hishām b. al-Hakam and Hishām b. Sālim, Kitāb al-Qiyās, Kitāb al-Arwāḥ, Kitāb al-Jannān wa al-Nār, Kitāb al-Hadītheyn al-Muhtalifayn, Masā'il al-Rijāl wa Makātibātihim Abū al-Hasan al-Sālis, Masā'il al-Abī Muhammad al-Hasan b. Ali alā Yadi Muhammad b. ʿUthmān al-ʿUmarī* and *Qurb al-Isnad ilā Sāhibi al-ʿAmr*. [632]

Muhammad b. Abdullah b. Jaʿfar al-Khimyarī (alive in 304/916)

al-Najāshī mentions him as the amanuensis of Imām Mahdī, who was responsible for writing down the issues of the sharia and the sika. His books include *Kitāb al-Huqūq, Kitāb al-Awāil,*

[629] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 389, 400.

[630] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 211; Jabbārī, *Maktab-e Ḥadīsi-ye Qom*, 190.

[631] There are manuscripts of the work in many libraries in Iran and Iraq. The work, which has been published many times, was finally published in Qom in 1417/1996 under the title of *Qurb al-Isnād wa al-Jaʿfariyyāt min Aʿlām al-Qarn al-Rābi* by Muessesat al-Sakāfat al-Islamiyya.

[632] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 166-167; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 211.

Kitāb al-Samā, Kitāb al-ʿArz, Kitāb al-Masāhā wa al-Buldān, Kitāb Iblīs and Junūduh and *Kitāb al-Ihtijāj* is located.[633]

Muhammad b. Hasan al-Walīd, Abū Jaʿfar al-Qommī (d. 343/954)

Muhammad b. Hasan al-Walīd al-Qommī was a shaykh, a jurist and one of the notables of the Qommītes. He took lessons from Saʿd ibn Abdullah al-Qommī, Muhammad ibn Yahyā al-Attār, Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Saffār, Ahmad ibn Idrīs al-Qommī. His most important student was Shaykh Sadūq. Shaykh Sadūq referred to his narrations in most of his books. *Kitāb al-Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* and *Kitāb al-Jāmīʿ (fī al-Fiqh).*[634] He is the first person to put forward the views on "Sahw al-Nabī", which has an important place in Shīʿi literature. Sahw al-Nabī a thought that is a subject of discussion in the context of the attribute of infallibility of the Prophet Muhammad and that it is possible for him to make mistakes by forgetting in his actions and behaviors, not while fulfilling his prophetic duty. This view was continued by his student Shaykh Sadūq after him.[635] However, Shaykh Sadūq and the majority of the Akhbarī scholars in Qom rejected this idea for fear that it would undermine the acceptance of the innocence of the Imāms, one of the fundamental views of Shīʿism, and it was heavily criticized by the scholars.[636]

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633 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 339.

634 Ibn al-Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 279; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 366-367.

635 Mazlum Uyar, *İmamiyye Şiası'nda Düşünce Ekolleri Ahbârîlik,* Ayışığı yay., İstanbul 2000, 84.

636 Shaykh al-Mufīd wrote two works, *Tashīh al-Itiqād* and *Adam al-Sahw al-Nabī*, to criticize his teacher Shaykh Sadūq and the Akhbārī scholars of Qom. For detailed information on Sahw al-Nabī, see Hasan Türkmen, "Ahbârî-Usûlî Ayrışmasında Sehvü'n-Nebi Meselesi", *İslâmî Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 25/1 (2014), pp . 1-14.

Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Husayn, Abū Jaʿfar al-Qommī (d. 350/961)

Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Qommī took lessons from. It is stated that he wrote nearly 100 books in the fields of fiqh, hadith, theology and tafsir. The most important of these works are *Kitāb al-Hadāiq, Kitāb al-Maʿrifa, Kitāb Khalak al-Arsh, Kitāb al-Dalāil, Kitāb al-Īzāh, Kitāb al-Tāhir, Kitāb al-Hakāiq, Kitāb al-Muʿcizāt* and *Kitāb Hasāis al-Nabī* comes to mind.[637] However, his works have not survived to the present day and there is no trace of him in the sources other than his name.

Jaʿfar b. Muhammad, Ibn Qūlawayh al-Qommī (d. 362/972)

al-Najāshī mentions him as one of the most reliable people of our companions in hadith and jurisprudence. He lived first in Qom and then in Baghdād. He was the teacher of Shaykh Mufīd.[638] His most important work is *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, one of the first works on visiting the graves of the Shīʿite holy figures.[639] A large part of the work is devoted to the virtues of visiting the grave of Husayn. Later, narrations about visiting the shrines of other Imāms, ʿAli ibn Mūsā, Muhammad ibn ʿAli, Fātima Māsuma and 'Abd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī are included. It is recorded that Ibn Qūlawayh has works such as *Kitāb al-Hajj, Kitāb Yavm and Laylah, Kitāb al-Qadā wa Ādāb al-Hukkām, Kitāb al-Shahādat, Kitāb al-Aqīqah, Kitāb Tārīkhu Shuhur wa al-Havādīs Fīhā, Kitāb al-Nawādir, Kitāb al-Nisā, Kitāb al-Nisā Hill al-Hayewān min Muharram* and *Kitāb Qismat al-Zakāt*.[640]

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637 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 87-8; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, II/46-47.

638 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 122; Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, III/300.

639 The work was first edited by Mirza Abdul Husayn Amīnī and published in Najaf in 1356/1937.

640 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 122.

Ahmad b. Ismail b. Abdullah al-Bajalī (al-Samakah) (d. 4th/10th century)

Ahmad b. Ismail, one of Ibn Qūlawayh's teachers, is said to have written a book called *Kitāb al-Abbāsī*, which is a voluminous book of ten thousand varaqs (pages). al-Najāshī mentions that he saw a part of this book, which contains the news of the Abbasid caliphs.[641] He is also said to have written a 200 varaqs for Abū al-Fadl Muhammad b. Husayn al-Amīd (d. 359/969).

As a result, the city of Qom played an important role in the development and popularisation of Shiʿite thought. It served as an important centre both through the presence of scholars who grew up in the city and institutionalised Shiʿism and through the people who migrated to various cities of Khorasan and engaged in scholarly activities. The homogeneous structure of the city of Qom since the first centuries contributed to the formation of an 'orthodox Shīʿism' as a result of the fact that it was not affected by the negativities brought about by the coexistence of people belonging to various religions and nations, as in the case of Iraqi geography. In addition, the fact that Qom was relatively far away from the caliphate centre caused the effects of wars and invasions to be felt very little, and this situation ensured that the Shīʿa ideas and the accumulation developed around these ideas were preserved more.

Ray: Crossroads of Sects

The city of Ray, which had a very important position for the Sassanids in the pre-Islamic period, became an important city for the Muslims who conquered it, especially from the 2nd/8th century onwards. Ray, which hosted Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Mazdakism and later Hurramism movements before Islam due

[641] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 94; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 66.

to its geographical location at the crossroads of the main roads and became a strategic base for the spread of these religions towards the West, South and North, had a cosmopolitan structure due to this feature. The city's location at the crossroads of important trade routes played a major role in its multicultural character. It is mentioned that Arab and Persian races were mixed in the city[642] since the first centuries of Islam, and that the Arabs here consisted of soldiers brought to the region by Hajjaj to fight the Khārijites.[643] According to Ibn al-Faqīh, there were also a small number of Turks and Daylamites living in the city.[644]

The first information about the sectarian status of Ray was given by the 4th/10th century author al-Maqdisī as follows: "The people of this place are Hanafī and Najjarī. Their villages are from the Za'farânī sect. There are also many Hanbalīs in Ray. They follow the path of their jurists in the matter of the "Khalq al-Qur'an".[645] There are also Shafi'ī jurists."[646] According to Yāqut al-Hamawī, "The city people are divided into three groups. Half of them is Shīʿa, the other half are Hanafīs and Shafiʿīs. The Hanafīs are in the majority. The majority of the villagers were Shīʿa, there were Hanafīs but there were no Shafiʿīs."[647] According to al-Qazwinī, "In Ray, some of the people are Shafiʿīs and some are Hanafī and they constantly fight with each other. The Hanafīs are more numerous than the Shafiʿīs."[648]

The 4th/10th century was a period when sectarian conflicts

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642 al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 89.
643 Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 245.
644 Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, 547; Karīman, *Ray-i Bāstān*, I/103.
645 al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 296.
646 The theological debate between the Khalk al-Qur'an, the Muʿtazilah, and the Ahl al-Hadith about whether the Qur'an is created or eternal.
647 Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*, III/116.
648 al-Qazwīnī, *Āsār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-ʿIbād*, 443.

and struggles were experienced violently throughout the Islamic geography.[649] Since almost all sects had the opportunity to be represented in the city of Ray, this city was called the "Kūfa of Khorasan".[650] A discussion between two people sent from Ray to Khorasan clearly shows the sectarian differences here. When one of the two civil servants sent to Nīshābur suggested to the other that they should visit Imām al-Ridā, the other replied that he left Ray a Murjiah and did not want to return as a Rāfizī.[651]

The city of Ray first became a shelter for the Kharijite groups escaping from the Battle of Nahrawan, which took place towards the end of the reign of ʿAli. Later, during the Umayyad period, the city was seen to have adopted a pro-Umayyad stance under the influence of the intense propaganda of the caliphate center. One example of this was Kathīr ibn Shihab al-Harisī. It is narrated that he spoke badly of ʿAli from the pulpit of Ray.[652] We observe that the pro-Umayyad stance of the city of Ray continued until the early years of the establishment of the Abbasids. When Qahtaba ibn Shabīb and his companions entered Ray in 131/748 and the Abbasids established their rule there, they were forced to leave the city because most of the local population was pro-Umayyad. Abū Muslim then ordered the confis-

649 Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb al-Sūrat al-Arz*, 255.

650 Kutlu, *Türklerin İslamlaşma Sürecinde Mürcie ve Tesirleri,* 225; We come across an interesting narration to express the sectarian confusion of the city: "Ibn al-Anbarī, in the section where he gives information about the famous lexicographer of the fourth century, Ibn Fāris, says the following: He was from the Shafiʿī school. When he came to Ray for the education of Fakhr al-Dawla's son, he chose the Malikī school. In response to those who asked the reason for this, he said, the city of Ray is one of the cities where there are many conflicts of opinion and sect. I was offended that there was no Malikī school here." (See Ibn al-Anbarī, *Nuzhat al-Albāb fi Tabaqāt al-Udabā*, 236, quoted by ʿAli Asghar Faqīhī, *Tārīkh-e Āl-i Būye*, Tehran 1389/2011, 69.)

651 ʿAli b. Isa b. Abī Fath al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-Ghumma fi Maʿrifat al-Aimme*, Dār al-Adwā, Beirut 1405/1985, II/268.

652 Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 245.

cation of the properties of the remaining Umayyad supporters, and the people of Ray wrote a letter to Caliph Saffāh, asking him for the properties that Abū Muslim had confiscated, and Abū Muslim expressed their hostility towards the Abbasids. When Saffāh did not accept the objection and insisted on returning their properties, Abū Muslim returned the properties of the people.[653]

In the city of Ray, Shiʿism was represented by Zaydī, Ismailī and Imāmi groups in the first four centuries of the Hijri period. Each of these sects was represented with different intensities in the same periods, and there were periods when one sect was clearly superior to the other.

After Yaḥyā ibn Zayd, son of Zayd b. ʿAli, fled to Khorasan after his father's death in 122/740, the movement later known as Zaydī moved to Khorasan. After Yahyā's death, this area was used as a transit point and a region that provided logistical support for Zaydī rebellions. Especially during the establishment of the Zaydite State of Tabaristan, the city of Ray was utilised to a great extent. In 250/864-865, a group of prominent people from Tabaristan wrote a letter to a person named Muhammad ibn Ibrahim, a descendant of Abū Tālib, and stated that they wanted to pledge allegiance to him. This person, who was living in Tabaristan at the time, rejected this offer and offered them Hasan ibn Zayd. They sent someone to Hasan ibn Zayd, who was in Ray at the time, and conveyed Muhammad ibn Ibrahim's letter to him, inviting him to Tabaristan. Hasan, who accepted this invitation, went there and thus the Daylamites, the people of Kular, Shalus and Rūyan gave allegiance

[653] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, V/55.

to him with their alliance.[654] Hasan b. Zayd's presence in Ray shows how important this city was for the Zaydis.

During this period, when members of Alid established a state in Tabaristan, Zaydite uprisings, large and small, were observed in Ray. On the eve of Eid al-Adhā in 250-864/865, Ahmad b. Isa and Idris b. Mūsā rebelled. Ahmad b. Isa led the people of Ray in the Eid prayer and called on them to follow the Ahl al-Bayt of the Messenger of Allah. Muhammad b. ʿAli b. Tāhir fought him, but Muhammad was defeated in this battle and went to Qazvin.[655] In this period, it can be said that the Zaydis actually dominated Ray. However, it is observed that the Abbasid commanders continued their efforts to dominate the city. In 255/869, when the mawalī who were with and under the Turkish commander Mūsā b. Bogha heard that the residents of the caliphate center, Samarra, had acquired a large number of properties, they became jealous of them and went to Samarra with Mūsā b. Bogha. Al-Muhtadī, who became caliph in 255/869, wrote him a letter asking him to return to Ray and protect the frontiers, but he did not return. Al-Muhtadī wrote a second letter to him, reminding him of the danger of the Alids (Zaydis) he would leave behind if he left Ray.[656] These statements show that Ray was under the influence of the Zaydis during this period.

There are traces that the influence of the Zaydis in the city continued in the memory of the society even in later periods. In an anecdote in the 4th/10th century travelogue of Abū Dulaf, we come across the following statements: *"In a place called Sūrīn, I saw that the people did not consider it good fortune to ap-*

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654 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh,* VI/159.

655 al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, IX/275; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, VII/116.

656 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh,* VI/205.

proach a water and did not approach it. When I asked the reason for this, an old man told me that the sword that caused the death of Yahyā b. Zayd was washed in this water."[657] This shows how much the people are interested in the descendants of Ali, even if they are not Shiʿites.

Ismāʿīlī groups, the city of Ray was the center of the daʿwah in the Khorasan region. The first organization here was started by a daʿī named Khalaf al-Hallāj. Abdullah Maymun al-Qaddāh, the leader of the daʿwah in Iraq, gave his place to someone named Halaf after him and said to him: *"Go to the regions of Ray; because Ray, Qom, Qāshān, Āba and Sāwa are mostly filled with Rafidīs who preach Shiʿism, so they will accept your invitation; you will find the opportunity to advance your work there."* [658] Khalaf, who set up headquarters in the village of Kulayn in the Pashapuya region (today's Fashafuya district of southern Tehran) near Ray, began his secret activities on behalf of Qāim Muhammad b. Abdullah. When he was soon exposed, he fled to Ray and hid. After his death, the movement was continued first by his son Ahmad and then by Ahmad's chief assistant and a native of Kulayn, Ghiyas. Ghiyas, who was an expert in hadith and Arabic literature and had a work called *Kitāb al-Bayān*, engaged in religious debates with the locals and gained disciples in the cities of Qom and Qāshān. Finally, he was forced to flee to Khorasan when the Sunnī jurist Zaʿfaranī instigated the people of Ray. When he met the Amir of the region, Husayn ibn ʿAli al-Marwazī, in the region of Marw al-Ruz, and convinced him to join the Ismāʿīlī cause, most of the inhabitants of the cities of Talaqan, Maymanah, Herāt, Garjistan and Ghur in Khorasan accepted this school of thought.

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[657] *Safarnāme-e Abū Dulaf dar Irān*, thk. Minorsky, trc. Seyyed Abū al-Fadl Tabatabai, Tehran 1354/1975, 74-75.

[658] Nizamülmülk, *Siyasetname*, 298.

After a while, Ghiyas returned to Ray and chose Abū Hātim Ahmad ibn Hamdan al-Rāzī, a learned man from the village of Pashapuya, as his assistant. Abū Hātim would later become the leader of the Ray region and one of the most important authorities of the early Ismāʿīlīs. When Ghiyas disappeared under mysterious circumstances, he was replaced by Abū Jaʿfar al-Kabīr, one of Khalaf's grandsons, but after a while Abū Hātim intervened and became the fifth leader of Ray and the leader of the cause in Jibāl.[659]

In Ray, in addition to the Shiʿism of Zaydiyya and Ismāʿīlīyya, which prioritized action, there were also the pioneers of the Imāmiyya, who were involved in scientific and missionary activities. The members of this community, who do not have any clues in the sources that they were involved in any political activities, established a tradition of jurisprudence, especially centered on hadith narration, in various cities with the circles of science they formed around the people they accepted as Imāms from Alid.

As far as we can determine, the first contact of Shīʿite Imāms with the city of Ray began during the period of Muhammad al-Bāqir, who is considered the fifth Imām. According to Shīʿite biographical works, the names of individuals who were connected with the city of Ray and considered to be his companions, such as Aʿyan al- Rāzī,[660] Yahyā b. Abī al-Ālā al-Rāzī,[661] al-Hajjāj b. Irtāt (Abū Irtāt al-Nahāī al-Kūfī),[662] are mentioned. However, no information is reflected in the sources about the activities of these individuals.

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[659] Daftary, *İsmaililer,* 186-187.

[660] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī, 126*.

[661] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 98; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 149. al- Barki also counts him among the companions of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq. (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 234.)

[662] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 133. According to the record of Shaykh Tūsī, he died in Ray during the Imāmate of Muhammad al-Bāqir.

Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, there was a significant increase in the number of people who were related to him and attributed to the city of Ray. Abū al-Mutahhir Atiyyah b. Najīh al-Rāzī,[663] Jarīr b. Abdulhamid al-Dabbī,[664] Abū Hilal al-Rāzī,[665] Hishām b. Musannā al-Rāzī,[666] Abū Jaʿfar Isa b. Mahan al-Rāzī,[667] Nuʿman al-Rāzī[668] is one of these people. Apart from these, there are also narrations based on Jaʿfar al- Sādiq, without mentioning the person, in the form of "It was narrated from a group of our Companions of Ray".[669] Based on this information, contemporary Shīʿite writers state that the emergence of Shiʿism in Ray coincided with the end of the 2nd/8th century.[670] Kutlu, emphasizes that during the reign of Harun al-Rashid, the office of the qadi was in the hands of the Shīʿa, and therefore the Murjī'a were wanted to be used against the Shīʿa in this period.[671]

The people who were in contact with Mūsā al-Kāzim during his time and who are attributed to Ray are as follows: ʿAli b. ʿUthmān al-Rāzī,[672] Amr b. ʿUthmān al-Rāzī,[673] Bakr b. Sālih al-Rāzī,[674] Hasan b. Jahm al- Rāzī.[675] It is seen that during

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663 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 264.

664 He was from Kūfa and lived in Ray. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 177.)

665 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 323.

666 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 320.

667 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 258.

668 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 327.

669 al-Barqī, *al-Mahāsin*, II/528.

670 Rasul Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Gosterish-e Tashayyuʿ dar Ray*, Āsitān-e Muqaddes-e Hazrat ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm, Tehran 1371/1992, 15.

671 Kutlu, *Türklerin İslamlaşma Sürecinde Mürcie ve Tesirleri*, 225.

672 Khūyī, *Muʿjam Rijāl al-Hadith*, XII/92.

673 Khūyī, *Muʿjam Rijāl al-Hadith*, XIII/119.

674 al-Najāshī states that he narrated from Mūsā al-Kāzim and that he was a weak person. He mentions his book called *al-Nawadir*. (See, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 107); It is recorded in a work titled *Darajāt al-Īmān wa Wujūh al-Kufr wa al-Istighfār wa al-Jihād*. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *el-Fihrist*, 87.); Shaykh Tūsī states that he was a companion of ʿAli al-Ridā (See *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 353.); Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 46; Khūyī, *Muʿjam Rijāl al-Hadith*, III/346; Karīman, *Ray-e Bāstān*, II/291.

675 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 382.

the time of Mūsā al-Kāzim, his companions in distant regions such as Khorasan were relatively few. This situation may have been caused by the fact that he was closely monitored by the Abbasids and spent a long part of his life in prison. However, despite this, some narrations from this period can be found in Shīʿa hadith books. According to a narration reflected in Shīʿa hadith books regarding the evidence of Mūsā al-Kāzim's Imāmate, the Imām informed someone coming from Ray of the death of his brother there as a miracle.[676] Again, during the same period, someone from the city of Ray came to the Imām and asked what he should do about some zakat money and the Imām told him, "Give it to our Shīʿa." The man said that he did not know if there was anyone in Ray who could give it to him.[677]

Another incident related to the period of Mūsā al-Kāzim is as follows:

"According to the narration of a person from Ray: One of Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmaqī's (d. 190/805) clerks were an administrator in Ray. I owed money to the government and had spent it on other things. I was told that the judge was a Shiʿite. I was afraid to tell him about my problem in case he was not. Then I decided to go on pilgrimage and there I saw Mūsā al-Kāzim. I told him my problem and he gave me a letter to be given to the administrator of the place. The letter said: "...this person is your brother; peace be upon him." When I returned to the city, I went to the administrator and introduced myself and conveyed Mūsā al-Kāzim's greetings. He closed the door and embraced me and kissed me on the eyes. Then he took me inside the house and made me sit on the headboard. I gave

[676] Ibn Rustam Muhammad b. Jarīr al-Tabarī, *Dalā'il al-Imāma*, thk. Muassasat al-Buʿsa, Qom 1413/1992, 327; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, XLVIII/61.

[677] Shaykh Tūsī, *Taḥzīb al-Ahkām*, thk. Hasan al-Musawi, 4th edition, Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyya, Tehran 1407/1986, IV/53

him the letter and he kissed it. He gave me clothes and money and asked me on my way out, "O brother, are you pleased with me?" I said, "Yes." He asked for the books and canceled my debts. I conveyed this to Mūsā al-Kāzim." [678]

When the two narrations above are considered together, there were still no Imāms in Ray who were aware of each other at that time. It gives the impression that there was no community, but during the time of Mūsā al-Kāzim, the Imāmi community had a secret presence in the state ranks and had a strong organization that was in contact with the Imām. Although it is narrated in political history books that he did not get involved in political affairs much, it shows that Mūsā al-Kāzim had both a proxy organization and contact with important political people and that he had the power to direct these people. Perhaps his being imprisoned by Harun al-Rashid and his death there may have been a result of the suspicion felt about Mūsā al-Kāzim's activities.

ʿAli al-Ridā's relation with Ray, Bakr b. Sālih al-Dabbī al-Rāzī,[679] Hasan b. Jahm al-Rāzī,[680] Husayn b. Jahm al-Rāzī[681] and al-Walīd b. Aban it is mentioned that he was in contact with people such as al-Dabbī al-Rāzī. [682]

There are persons among those from Ray who were around Muhammad al-Jawād were such as Abdullah b. Muhammad b. Hammad al-Rāzī,[683] Abdullah b. Muhammad al-Rāzī,[684] Sahl

[678] al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, XLVIII/174. (Cf. Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Gostarish-e Tashayyuʿ dar Ray*, 17.)
[679] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 398; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 353.
[680] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 354.
[681] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 355.
[682] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 368.
[683] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 376.
[684] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 377.

b. Ziyād al-Adamī,[685] Muhammad b. Abī Zayd (Yazīd) al-Rāzī[686] and al-Hasan b. Abbas b. Khuraysh al-Rāzī.[687] According to a narration related to this period, a group from Ray came to the Imām in Baghdād and asked him to prove his Imāmate, saying that there was a Zaydī among them and wanted to know who he was. When the Imām pointed out this person, the Zaydī said that he believed that his Imāmate was true.[688]

Among the companions of ʿAli al-Hādī who are attributed to the city of Ray is Ahmad b. Ishaq al-Rāzī,[689] Ibrahim b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī,[690] Yahyā b. Abī Bakr al-Rāzī al-Darīr,[691] Abū al-Hayr Sālih b. Maslama al-Rāzī,[692] Muhammad b. Hassan al-Rāzī al-Zaynabī,[693] and Abu al-Abbas Muhammad b. Khālid al-Rāzī's[694] names are mentioned.

We learn the most important information about the Imāmi community in Ray during the reign of ʿAli al-Hādī, through the migrationg of 'Abd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī, who was a member of the Hasani lineage and had contacts with the Imāms.

'Abd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī (d. 250/864?)

His real name is Abū al-Qāsim, 'Abd al-ʿAzīm b. Abdullah b. ʿAli b. al-Hasan b. Zayd b. al-Hasan b. ʿAli b. Abī Tālib.[695]

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685 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 375. He is also among the companions of ʿAli al-Hādī. (See al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 421; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 387); He was expelled from Qom because of his Ghuluw ideas. Then he came to Ray and settled there.

686 Originally from Qom. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 379.)

687 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 415; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 374.

688 Husayn ibn Hamdān al-Hasībī, *al-Hidāyat al-Kubrā*, Beirut 1419/1998, 302.

689 He was one of his closest people. He was his deputy. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 383.)

690 al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 420.

691 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 392.

692 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 387.

693 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 392.

694 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 392.

695 al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 52; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 237.

There is not enough information about his life. It is estimated that he was born before 200/815.[696] There are different narrations about which of the Imāms ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm met. Shaykh Tūsī states that he was a companion of ʿAli al-Hādī and Hasan al-ʿAskarī.[697] However, in Shīʿa hadith books, there are narrations from ʿAli al-Ridā, Muhammad al-Jawād and ʿAli al-Hādī.[698] There are narrations that he met ʿAli al-Hādī in Samarra and was praised by him. This situation means that ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm shared the same views as the Husaynis, despite the differences of opinion between the Hasanid and Husaynid descendants regarding the uprising for the caliphate. Nevertheless, the Abbasid power did not take kindly to the Imām's contact with a Hasanid descendant, and this resulted in ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm's flight from Samarra. According to the sources, after Caliph al-Mutawakkil came to Samarra in 233/848, ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm first went to Tabaristan with the idea of escaping from the oppression that he was applying to the sons of ʿAli, and then he came to Ray and hid in the house of a Shīʿite.[699]

It is understood that the hadiths transmitted through the Imāms were influential in the formation and development of the Imāmi community in Ray, although not during ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm's lifetime. Al-Kulaynī, Shaykh Sadūq and many other authors attributed the chain of narrators coming from Muham-

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[696] Muhammadī Rayshahrī, *Hikmatnāme-e Hazrat ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī*, Dāru al-Hadīs, Qom 1390/2011, 17.

[697] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 387; The author of the work states that the narration about him being a companion of Hasan al-ʿAskarī does not exist in the other copy. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 401 (Footnote No. 1)

[698] Azizullah Oṭāridī, *ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Ḥasanī Hayātuhu wa Musnaduhu ya Zendegānī-ye Hazrat ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm Alaihi's-Salam*, 4th edition, Intishārāt-e Otārid, Tehran 1391/2012, 27.

[699] Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 157; The exact date of the ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm 's flight from Samarra is unknown, but it probably occurred after al-Mutawakkil destroyed the shrine of Imām Husayn in 236/850 and suppressed the Shīʿites.

mad al-Jawad and ʿAli al-Hādī to ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm.[700] When a person from Ray named Abū Hammad al-Rāzī came to ʿAli al-Hādī in Samarra to ask him some questions, ʿAli al-Hādī replied,[701] "If you have any problems regarding religious matters, you can ask ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī, who is in your district." This narration is noteworthy because it shows that he was known by the Imām and that some scholars who could think independently of the Imām were respected in this community. It also shows that the Imām was aware of ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm's presence in Ray, but the community of Ray was not yet fully informed.

It is reported that a conversation took place between Ali al-Hādī and ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm, which became famous as the "Hadith of Arz-e Dīn". In this conversation, ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm expressed his theological views on monotheism and prophethood to the Imām and was answered by the Imām that his theology was true.[702] It is understood that these views were first put into circulation by the Buwayhid vizier Sāhib ibn Abbād in the 4th/10th century and used in efforts to seek reconciliation between the Muʿtazila and the Shīʿa.[703]

It is understood that ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm was also held in high esteem by al-Hasan al-ʿAskarī. Abū Nasr al-Bukharī, in the chapter on the lineage of the Hasan, quotes Hasan al-ʿAskarī as saying

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[700] For detailed information about ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm's place in the history of Shīʿite hadith and the hadiths he narrated, see Ahmad ibn Husayn al-Ubaydān, *ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Ḥasanī al-ʿĀlim al-Faqīh wa al-Muhaddith al-Muʿtamin, Sīratuhu wa Musnaduhu*, Dāru al-Qarāma, Qom 1436/2015

[701] Sāhib ibn ʻAbbād, *Risālatun fī Ahwāl ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī*, (in Husayn ibn Muhammad Taqī Nuri, *al-Mustadrak al-Wasā'il wa Mustanbit al-Masā'il*, thk. Muessesat Al-e Bayt, Qom 1408/1986, (Khātime) in IV/404-408), 406.

[702] Sāhib ibn ʻAbbād, *Risālatun fī Ahwāli ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī*, 406; There are independent editions of this hadith. One of them has a detailed commentary on the hadith. See Sāfī Ghulpāyāgānī, *Sharh-i Hadīth-i Arz-e Dīn-e ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm Hasanī*, Intishārāt-i Dalil-e Mā, Qom 1390/2011.

[703] Wilferd Madelung, "'Abd-Al-ʿAzîm Al-Haseni", *Encylopedia Iranica*, 1982, I/96.

about ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm, "If it were not for ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm, I would have said that Ali b. Hasan b. Zayd b. Hasan left no offspring after him."[704] He quoted him as saying.

The arrival of such a person, who was known to be praised by the Imāms, in Ray had important consequences in terms of the Shīʿa community beginning to become evident here. His shrine is of central importance to the Shīʿa even today. Many Shīʿa settled in this city solely because of his presence here.[705]

Sources indicate that among the people whom ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm narrated were ʿAli ibn Asbāt ibn Sālim al-Kindī, al-Hasan ibn Mahbūb al-Sarad (d. 224/838), Hasan ibn Husayn Arnī, Hasan ibn Mahbūb, Husayn ibn Hakam al-Nahāī, Ibn Uzayda, Ibrahim ibn Abī Mahmud al-Khorasānī, Mahmud ibn Abī al-Bilād, Muhammad ibn Abī Umayr al-Azdī al-Baghdādī (died 217/832), Muhammad ibn Fudayl, Muhammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Yazīd, Mūsā ibn Muhammad al-Ijlī, Safwan ibn Yahyā, Sahl ibn Saʿd, Sulayman ibn Jaʿfar Jaʿfarī, Sulayman ibn Hafs al-Marwazī and Sulayman ibn Sufyan, Yahyā ibn Sālim. Among those who narrated from him and among his students are Abdullah ibn Muhammad Ijlī, Ahmad ibn Mihran, Ahmad ibn Hasan, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khālid al-Barqī (died 274/887), Abū Sālih Muhammad ibn Fayd al-Ijlī, Abū Turāb Ubaydullah ibn Mūsā al-Rūyānī, Hamza ibn Qāsim Alawī, Hasan ibn Ibn Ziyād, Husayn ibn Ibrahim Alawī, Husayn ibn Yazīd Nawfalī, Ibrahim ibn ʿAli,[706] Ibrahim ibn Hāshim, Muhammad ibn Khālid al-Barqī, Sālih ibn Fayz Ajlī, Sahl ibn Jumhur and Sahl ibn Ziyād Ādemī.

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[704] al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya,* 53; Oṭāridī, *ʻAbd al-ʻAzīm al-Ḥasanī,* 29.

[705] Sayyidwaqīlī, *Barrasī Coghrafya-ye Gostarish-i Tashayyuʿ*, 40-41.

[706] Probably the person mentioned by Shaykh Tūsī as Ibrahim ibn ʿAli al-Kūfī. It is stated that he lived in Samarkand and that Nasr ibn Ahmad respected him during his reign. If he is the right person, the Kūfa, Ray and Samarkand line can be mentioned. (See *Rijal al-Tūsī*, 407.)

It is narrated that he has two books called *Khutab Amīr al-Mu'minīn*,[707] and *Kitāb Yawm and Laylā*.[708] Shaykh Sadūq wrote about him *Kitāb Jāmiʿ Akhbār 'Abd al-ʿAzīm b. Abdullah al-Hasanī*[709] and Sāhib b. Abbād also wrote books called *Risālatun fī Ahvāl 'Abd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī*.[710]

His reliability was emphasized by the Shīʿa scholars who came after him. Shaykh Sadūq in one section of *Man lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*, while mentioning a hadith about fasting, he states that he did not see this hadith with any other narration but he included it in his book because he trusted 'Abd al-ʿAzīm .[711] The hadiths narrated from 'Abd al-ʿAzīm were frequently used in the works of Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khālid al-Barqī, al-Kulaynī, Shaykh Sadūq, Ibn Qūlawayh and Shaykh Mufīd. Many independent works were written about 'Abd al-ʿAzīm, who was given great importance in the Shīʿite tradition, based on the narrations in these works in the following centuries.

In the middle of the 3rd/9th century, it is seen that an Imāmite community with a common ideology was formed in Ray,

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[707] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 237; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 226; This book is not available today. However, two sermons belonging to the book are known. One is about the purchase of a house between ʿAli and Qadi Shurayh. This sermon is mentioned as the third letter in *Nahj al-Balāgha*. The second is about the mortalility and disparagement of the world. This sermon is mentioned Shaykh Sadūq's work, *Amālī*. (See Shaykh Sadūq, *Amālī al-Sadūq*, 5th edition, A'lamī Neshr., Beirut 1400/1980, 207-208. Not included in *Nahj al-Balāgha*.

[708] Sāhib ibn 'Abbād, *Risālatun fī Ahwāl ʿAbd al-'Azīm al-Hasanī*, 404; The name of this book is not mentioned in other bibliographic works.

[709] The first copy of this treatise was written in 516/1122 by a member of the Bābawayh family of Ray. This copy was first included in Husayn b. Muhammad Taqī Nuri (d. 1320/1902)'s *al-Mustadraq al-Wasā'il* and is now available in numerous separate editions. However, the fact that the treatise is not mentioned in any work until Taqī Nuri, and that the gap between the two works covers a long period of time, leads us to doubt its authenticity.

[710] Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, I/392-394.

[711] Shaykh Sadūq, *Man lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*, II/128.

especially after the arrival and burial of 'Abd al-ʿAzīm. Nizām al-Mulk's statement "there are many Rāfidis here" during the period when Khalaf started the Ismāʿīlite invitation in the region can be accepted as an indication of the existence of an Imāmite community in the city during the same period.[712]

In the period of Hasan al-ʿAskarī, from Muhammad b. Yazdād al- Rāzī,[713] who is attributed to the city of Ray there is no mention of any of his companions other than.

Al-Isqāfī states[714] that Damascus, Ray and Basra are known with the Nāsibī.[715] Yāqūt al-Hamawī, on the other hand, dates the beginning of Shiʿism in Ray to the period of Abū al-Hasan Mādarānī's rule, that is, after the year 275/888. Yāqut says: *"The people of Ray were in the Ahl al-Sunnah until Ahmad b. Hasan Mādarānī (or Mardānī) became dominant in Ray. After that, tashayyuʿ became obvious here. He treated the Shīʿites well and made them sit next to him. Abdurrahman b. Abī Hātim wrote Fadāilu Ahl al-Bayt and some other books for him."* [716] The information given by Yāqut is not confirmed by other sources at our disposal. Probably Yāqut obtained this information from Abū Saʿīd Abī or Muntajabuddīn's *Tārīkhu Ray* which we do not have.[717] It is not certain which group is referred to here as Shiʿism. Howev-

[712] Nizamulmülk, *Siyasetname*, 298; Avcu, *Horasan-Maveraünnehir'de İsmaililik,* 119.
[713] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 402.
[714] Abū Jaʿfar al-Isqāfī, *al-Miʿyār wa al-Muwāzāna*, thk. Muhammad Bākir Mahmūdī, Beirut 1402/1981, 32; Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 246; Sayyidwaqīlī, *Barrasī Coghrafya-ye Gosterish-i Tashayyuʿ,* 10.
[715] Nāsibī: It is the name given to a person who feels hostility towards ʿAli. However, among the Shīʿa, it is a slanderous use given to all groups who do not accept that ʿAli is an Imām according to the nass and who argue that the election of the Imām is at the initiative of the people. (See Muhammad Javād Mashkūr, *Farhang-e Firaq-e Eslāmī*, Mashhad 1387/2008, 452.)
[716] Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al-Buldān*, III/121. The mentioned books are not available to us.
[717] Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Gosterish-e Tashayyuʿ dar Ray,* 25.

er, some narrations in the Imāmiyya hadith literature contain clues about Mādarānī's sectarian identity.

In al-Kulaynī's *Usūl al-Kāfī*, the following narration is quoted from Mādarānī: *"When I entered Jabal, although I loved the Ahl al-Bayt at that time, I did not have the belief of Imāmate. Before Yazīd b. Abdullah died, he gave me a horse, a sword and a belt and asked me to deliver them to his master, the Sāhib al-Zamān (the Twelfth Imām). I was afraid and gave them to (the Amīr) Qūtekin. Then I wanted to send the money for them, but after a while I received a letter from Iraq saying, 'Send our seven hundred dinars.'"*[718] A similar narration is also mentioned in *Bihār al-Anwār* with a different version.[719] When these narrations are evaluated together, it is seen that Mādarānī's was related to the Imāmite community.

During the period when the Twelfth Imām was believed to have been absent, relations with the Imāmite community were maintained through proxies in Ray. The most important of these representatives was Abū al-Husayn Muhammad b. Jaʿfar Asadī (d. 312/924), who lived in Ray. Shaykh Tūsī gives the following information about this relationship through Sālih b. Abī Sālih: *"In the year 290/902, some people came to me and wanted to give me the goods to be sent to the Imām. I refused. I received the following letter (from Mahdī) regarding this duty: "Muhammad b. Jaʿfar is in Ray. Give the goods to him. He is one of the trustworthy people worthy of our trust."*[720]

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[718] al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, I/522.

[719] The narration is as follows: After the expedition between Qutekin and Yazīd ibn Abdullah in Shahrizur, Mādarānī decided to send the horse, sword and belt that remained from him to his master. Then he talked with Qutekin. Then he thought that he would send their money and gave his goods to Qutekin. After a while, Abū Abdullah Asadī, the deputy of the twelfth Imām, brought him a letter and in that letter he said, "Give one thousand dinars of ours to Asadī." I thanked Allah and said that no one else knew about this idea. (See al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, LI/300-301.)

[720] Aghabozorg al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa al-Qarn al-Rābiʿ, Nawābigh al-Ru-*

Ibn Rustam al-Tabarī, who was from Ray, records 7 people among the companions of Muhammad al-Mahdī, who became the absent Imām. These are Israil al-Qattān, ʿAli ibn Jaʿfar ibn Hurrazar, ʿUthman ibn ʿAli ibn Dirakht, Muskan ibn Jabal ibn Muqātil, Kirdīn ibn Shayban, Hamdan ibn Kurr and Sulayman ibn ad-Daylamī.[721] However, all of these people are unknown people who cannot be verified even by other Shīʿite sources.

Shīʿa probably took control of Ray during the Buyid rule (4th/10th century).[722] We see that the scientific activities that were carried out relatively secretly until that period started to be openly active with the support of the government. As a result of these activities, Shīʿa were strengthened with Shīʿa educational institutions called "Dār al-ʿIlm", libraries, discussion councils, etc.[723] In fact, we can easily say that the basic hadith and jurisprudence collections of Shīʿa were created during this period. The most prominent figures of the period are al-Kulaynī and Shaykh Sadūq. On the basis of these two figures, Shīʿa two of the four fundamental hadith books called *Kutubu Arbaa'* were compiled, thus completing an important stage in the formation of Shīʿa as a sect. It is said that there were many books in the famous library established by the Buwayhid vizier Sāhib b. Abbād in Ray. It is narrated that Mahmud of Ghazni entered the city in 420/1029 to punish the Ismāʿīlīs and the Rāfidah, and that some of the works in the library were destroyed during this time.[724] Sultan Mahmud reported in a letter he wrote to the

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wāt fi Rabia al-Mi'at, Dāru Ihya al-Turāsi'l-Arabī, Beirut 1430/2009, I/258; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, II/138-139; Sayyidwaqīlī, *Berresī Coghrafya-ye Gostarish-e Tashayyuʿ*, 41.

721 Ibn Rustam al-Tabarī, *Dalā'il al-Imāma*, 568-569.

722 For the activities of the Shīʿa during the Buyid period, see Metin Bozkuş, *Büveyhiler ve Şiilik*, Sivas 2003, 91-153.

723 Maryam Shākirī, *Faāliyathā-ye Ilmī-ye Shīʿiyyān dar Dowra-e Āl-e Būye*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Dānishgāh-i Azād-i Islāmī, Tehran 1385/2006, 25.

724 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya*, XV/625; After Sultan Mahmud had some books

caliph of the time that he killed a group from the Bātiniyya and Rāwafid in Ray and confiscated their property. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī states that the number of Shīʿa decreased in the city after this incident.[725] This incident also led to the gradual loss of importance of the lands of Khorasan, which had emerged as a center of knowledge for the Shīʿa, and the settlement of important scholars in Iraq, especially in Baghdād.

It is known that in the 5th/11th century, when the scholarly center of the Shīʿa shifted from the lands of Khorasan to Baghdād, the Shī'ites of Ray sent their questions to the scholars in Baghdād and received answers from them. An example of this is Sharif Murtaza's *al-Masāil al-Rāzīyya*[726] is mentioned. Since the book has not reached us today, we do not have information about which subjects were asked the most and how these questions were answered.

It is observed that Shīʿites did not provide education and training activities through institutional madrasahs in Ray during the period covering our study period. Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, a scholar of the 6th/12th century, mentions the madrasahs established by the descendants of ʿAli in Ray and having great influence.[727] However, it can be said that all of the madrasahs

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said to be related to theology burned, he took the remaining one hundred camel books to Khorasan and had a library established. (See Karīman, *Ray-e Bāstān*, I/546.)

[725] 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 48-49.

[726] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 87.

[727] Among these madrasas built in the city of Ray are: Sayyid Taj al-Dīn Muhammad Kīsekī Grand Madrasah, built during the reign of the Seljuk Sultan Tugrul Beg; Shams al-Islam Haskā Bābawayh Madrasah, named after Shams al-Islam Haskā Bābawayh (d. 5th/11th century), a prominent Shīʿa figure and built during the reigns of Sultan Malik Shah and Sultan Muhammad; Hāngāh al-Kīsekī Madrasah, built during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tapar and belonging to the Kīsekīs, a Sādāt family; the Madrasa of Shams al-Islam Hasqā Bābawayh, named after Shams al-Islam Hasqā Bābawayh (d. 5th/11th century); the Madrasa of Khāngāh al-Rayyān, built during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tapar and belonging to the Kīsekīs, a family of Sādāt; the Madrasa of Sayyid Zāhid Abū

in question belong to the Seljuk period and do not contain any traces of the sect in the first four centuries covering our study period.

Important Places for Shiʿism

The most important places in Ray for the Shīʿites are the shrines that contain traces of Shīʿite thought. There are Shīʿite and Sunnī figures buried in Ray. It is seen that there are Shīʿite graves in the east of Ray and Sunnī graves in the west, but the old Sunnī graves gradually disappeared after the city of Ray was destroyed.[728]

Shrine of ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī

One of the most prominent places in Ray for the Shīʿites is the shrine of ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm al- Hasanī.[729] The shrine was first built during the reign of Muhammad ibn Zayd (d. 287/900), the ruler of Tabaristan, about 20 years after the death of ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm. However, the shrine's importance for the Shīʿites dates back to the Buyid period. The shrine was transformed into a place suitable for visits by Sāhib ibn Abbād, one of the powerful ministers of the period, with various additions. It was re-

al-Futūh, built by Malikshāh and located near the gate of Āhanin, the Shiʿite residential neighborhood of Ray; Khoja ʿAbd al-Jabbār Mufīd Madrasa of Mufīd ʿAbd al-Jabbar, one of the Imāmī scholars of the 5th/11th century, built during the reigns of Sultan Malik Shah and Barkyaruk; Shaykh Haydar Makkī Madrasa, built during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Tapar; and Shaykh Imam Rashīd Rāzī Madrasa, built during the reign of Sultan Muhammad. (See. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 39-41.); there is also the Ali Isār Hāngāh built during the reign of Sultan Malik Shah and the Shah Ghazi Madrasah built in the last days of the Great Seljuks. (See Karīman, *Ray-e Bāstān*, I/534.)

728 Karīman, *Ray-e Bāstān*, I/384; It is interesting that the graves of the Shīʿites have been preserved. Keriman indirectly justified this by stating that these graves were mostly outside the city. (See *Ray-e Bāstān*, I/394.)

729 ʻAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 648.

stored and completed during the reign of Majd al-Mulk, one of the Seljuk ministers.[730]

There is some information in Shīʿite sources about the construction of ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm's shrine. According to this, while ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm was hiding in a house in Ray, he would often leave his place and visit a grave and say that this grave belonged to one of Mūsā al-Kāzim's children. When this news spread among the Imāmites in the city, the number of visitors to the grave increased considerably. Later, when ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm passed away, they buried him under a tree near this grave.[731] For this reason, his grave was called "Mashhad al-Shajarah" in the early periods.[732] According to Sāhib b. Abbād's independent *Risāla* about ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm, one of the Shīʿites living in Ray saw a dream. In his dream, the Prophet told him, "Tomorrow, one of my family members will die in Sikkat al-Mawālī and will be buried near an apple tree in Abduljabbar's vineyard." Then the person looked for the vineyard and wanted to buy it from its owner. The owner of the land said that he had the same dream and said, "I dedicate this place for the burial of the leading Shīʿites."[733] Narrations about the virtue of visiting ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm 's grave are included in early Shīʿite sources. According to a narration from ʿAli al-Hādī, when a person from Ray visited the grave of Husayn and went to the Imām, the Imām told him that visiting ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm's grave in Ray was like visiting Husayn.[734]

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[730] Asghar Qāidān, *Āsitan-e Muqaddes-e Hazrat ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm Hasanī*, Dār al-Hadīs, Qom, 1382/2003, 78.

[731] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 237; According to this narration, it is understood that ʻAbd al-ʿAzīm was not known by the Shīʿite community in Ray. This may be due to the fact that he lived secretly, but it can also be thought that he became known after his death through the narrations that were put into circulation about him.

[732] al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 52.

[733] Sāhib ibn ʻAbbād, *Risālatun fī Ahwāli ʿAbd al-ʻAzīm al-Hasanī*, 405.

[734] Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, 537; Shaykh Sadūq, *Sawāb al-Aʿmāl wa Ukāb al-*

If this narration is accepted as true, it means that his grave was known shortly after his death and that it was encouraged to be a place of visit.

Shrine of Imāmzādah Hamza

It is the shrine of Hamza b. Mūsā, the son of Mūsā al-Kāzim, believed to have been unearthed by 'Abd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī. Later, when 'Abd al-ʿAzīm also died, he was buried next to this imāmzadah.[735] Although is not directly mentioned in Sāhib b. Abbād's *Risāla*, Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī emphasizes the attribution of this grave to Hamza in *Naqd*.[736] Later writers also accepted this. Hamza came with his brother ʿAli al-Ridā when he went to Khorasan and died in Ray. The recognition that the Safawids' lineage goes back to Hamza b. Mūsā[737]gave the shrine a special position in the following centuries.

Shrine of Imāmzādah Tāhir (d. 4th/10th century)

His full name is Tāhir ibn Muhammad (Mubarqa') ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Isa ibn Yahyā ibn Husayn ibn Zayd ibn ʿAli ibn Husayn.[738] He came to Ray around 300-310/912-922 and died here. His shrine was built during the Buyid period.[739]

Shrine of Imāmzādah Abdullah

His full name is Abdullah Abyaḍ b. Abbas b. Muhammad b. Abdullah Shahīd b. Hasan Aftas b. ʿAli b. ʿAli b. Husayn b. ʿA-

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Aʿmāl, Dāru al-Sharīf al-Radī, Qom 1406/1984, 99.

735 Sāhib ibn 'Abbād, *Risālatun fi Ahwāli ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī*, 405-406.

736 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 648.

737 Karīman, *Ray-e Bāstān*, I/395-397.

738 Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 163.

739 Qaidān, *Āsitan-i Muqaddes-e Hazrat 'Abd al-ʿAzīm Hasanī*, 73.

li b. Abī Tālib.[740] Accordingly, it is debatable whether the person buried in Ray is Abdullah Abyaḍ b. Abbas or his son Abū Abdullah Husayn.[741]

Ray in Shīʿite Literature

Imāmiyya literature, at first glance, when the city of Ray is mentioned, it is seen that there are some negative narrations in circulation. According to the narration of Ibn al-Faqīh, in a narration from Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, *"Ray, Qazvin and Sawah are cursed and a source of evil."* Again, according to Ishaq b. Sulayman al-Rāzī, *"I have not seen anyone greater than Ray in evil and humiliation"* and according to the news from the Ahl al-Bayt, *"Ray is cursed and is located on a raging sea. Its land is from the land of Daylam."*[742] According to a narration by Muhammad b. Rayyān from Ismaīl al-Rāzī from Hasan b. ʿAli b. Faddal, Jaʿfar al-Sādiq reported that Ray is the city mentioned in the verse *"We will either destroy all the cities before the Day of Judgment or punish them with a severe punishment"* (Surah Al-Isra , 58).[743]

Similar comments were reported by al-Maqdisī in the 4th/10th century. He states that Ray is mentioned in the hadiths as a cursed place.[744] Similarly, al-Majlisī cites a narration attributed to Jaʿfar al-Sādiq that says, *"The city of Ray is the enemy of the Messenger of Allah and his Ahl al-Bayt. There is torment for them in this world and the hereafter."*[745] He narrated that it was said.

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[740] Karīman, *Ray-e Bāstān*, I/398.

[741] According to 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, the person buried in Ray is Abū Abdullah al-Abyaz. (See *Naqd*, 648); Karīman, *Ray-e Bāstān*, I/401.

[742] Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān, 543;* Yaqut also used the same narration. (See Yāqut al-Hamawī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, III/118-119); According to Jaʿfariyān, the reference to Daylam here meant that Daylam was a non-Muslim region at that time, and that Ray was thus denigrated. (See *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 246.)

[743] Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, 544.

[744] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 290.

[745] al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, V/279; al-Majlisi states that the words spoken about

In our opinion, the narrations that denigrate the city of Ray in this way are closely related to the Karbalā incident. One of the important figures of the Karbalā incident, ʿUmar b. Saʿd, was offered the emirate of Ray by Ubaydullah b. Ziyād in return for killing Husayn, and ʿUmar accepted. Due to this bad memory, the city of Ray was also reflected in the narrations in a bad light.[746]

Other Important Shīʿa Figures

Sahl b. Ziyād al-Ādamī al-Rāzī (d. after 260/873)

Sahl ibn Ziyād al-Ādamī was one of Hasan al-ʿAskarī's companions.[747] He was one of the first hadith scholars of the Ghayba al-Sughrā (260/873-329/941). While he was living in Kūfa, he migrated to Qom, but due to his deviant ideas, he was expelled by Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Isa and settled in Ray.[748] We do not have any information about what the ideas of ghuluw that led to Sahl b. Ziyād's expulsion from Qom. However, when we examine the hadiths narrated from him, we can conclude that he was not tolerated by the scholars of Qom due

Ray in the continuation of the narration belong to that period and do not indicate a situation valid until the Day of Judgment. (See *Bihār al-Anwār*, V/280); Karīman, one of the contemporary writers, also questions the value of the same narrations and mentions that the hadith is not authentic. (See *Ray-e Bāstān*, I/111.)

[746] Indeed, al-Maqdisī, strengthens our view by saying that Ray was a place that made ʿUmar ibn Saʿd miserable (cf. *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 290); An incident we experienced during our stay in Iran also reveals the perception of Ray and Karbalā in the minds of the Shīʿites. When I told a friend of African origin who had recently become a Shīʿite that I was working on Ray, he replied, "Never mind working on that damned city!" When I asked him why, he said, "The governorship of Ray was offered to ʿUmar ibn Saʿd in return for killing Husayn, and he accepted it."

[747] Ibn Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 279; al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 436; in al-Kashshī, he is mentioned as the narrator of Muhammad al- Jawad, 'Ali al-Hādī and Hasan al-ʿAskarī. (See *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 401); Shaykh Tūsī also has the same opinion. (See *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 375, 387, 399.)

[748] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 182.

to narrations such as the innocence of the Imāms and the limitlessness of the Imām's knowledge. Due to this characteristic, he was described as a weak narrator by some of the Rijāl writers.[749] Among the people they narrated and received knowledge from were Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Abī Nasr al-Bazantī (died 221/835), Ayyūb ibn Nuh ibn Darraj al-Nahāī, ʿAli ibn Asbat ibn Sālim, al-Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn Yaqtīnī, Muhammad ibn Isa ibn Ubayd al-Yaqtīnī, 'Abd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī, al-Hasan ibn Mahbub al-Sarrād, Abū Hāshim Dāwud ibn al-Qāsem al-Jaʿfarī, al-Rayyān ibn al-Salt and Abdurrahman ibn Abī Najran. Among those who narrated from him were Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Saffār (d. 290/902), Muhammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muhammad ibn Avn al-Asadī (d. 312/924), Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Yahyā ibn Imran al-Ashʿarī. *Kitāb al-Tawhid*, *Kitāb al-Nawādir*[750] two of his works are mentioned.

Muhammad b. Hassan Rāzī, Abū Abdullah al-Zaynabī (3rd/9th century)

Muhammad b. Hassan, one of the commentators[751] of the Imāmiyya. There is not enough information about the life of Rāzī. It is said that he has many narrations from weak narrators.[752] Saffar al-Qommī narrated from him. [753] It is mentioned that he has books called *Kitāb al-ʿUqāb*, *Kitāb Innā Anzalnāhu*, *Kitābu Sawāb al-Aʿmāl*, *Kitāb Shaykhs wa Shaykhā and Kitāb Sawāb al-Kurʿan*.[754]

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[749] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 182; Shaykh Tūsī states that he is a trustworthy person. (See *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 387); However, Shaykh Tūsī describes him as weak in *al-Fihrist*. (See *al-Fihrist*, 142); Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 74; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 356-357.

[750] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* 182.

[751] Abdurrahim Akikī Bahsaishī, *Tabaqāt-e Mufassirān-i Shīʿa*, 4th edition, Intishārāt-i Behâr, Qom 1387/2008, 315.

[752] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 323.

[753] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 445.

[754] Shaykh Tūsī mentioned only the last book (See *al-Fihrist*, 224); al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*

Abū Jaʿfar Ibn Qibbah al-Rāzī (d. 319/931(?))

Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn Abdurrahman ibn Qibbah al-Rāzī is one of the Shīʿite theologians who made significant contributions to the formation of the Shīʿite theological system. Ibn Qibbah, one of the students of Abū al-Qāsem al-Balkhī, was initially a member of the Muʿtazila school. He later became a Shīʿite.[755] He played a major role in the formation of the theological structure of the Imāmiyya, especially with the works he wrote and the discussions he took part in.[756] It is seen that he had discussions with Zaydī scholars about the Imāmate during the period of his absence and defended the Imāmiyya's understanding of the concept of the absent Imām.[757] For this purpose, he wrote several books as a refutation of the Zaydiyya's understanding of Imāmate. The most famous of these is *Kitāb al-Insāf fī al-Imāma*. This book was given by Muhammad b. Bishr Sūsanjirdī (4th/10th century) during a visit to Mashhad to Abū al-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī, who gave it to *al-Mustarshid fī al-Imāma*[758] and sent it with him to Ray. Then Ibn Qibbah sent his book *al-Mustasbit fī al-Imāma,* which he wrote as a refutation to him, to Balkh. Then Abū al-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī wrote *Naqd al-Mustasbit* and sent it back to Ray, but Ibn Qibbah died in the meantime and could not see it. If we look at the quotations from this work, which we do not have today, it is known that the work was popular among the Imāmiyya until the 7th/14th century.[759]After him quotations have been made in works such as Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma*, Shaykh Mufīd *Majālis*, *al-Uyūn*, *al-Mahāsin*,

al-Najāshī, 323.

755 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 359; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 243.

756 Mudarrisī, *Maktab dar Farāyand-e Takāmul, 216-219*.

757 Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni'ma,* I/105-118.

758 Ibn Nadim mentions a book by al-Kaʿbī called *Kitāb al-Kalām fī al-Imāma alā Ibn Qibbah*. This book is probably one of the two books al-Kaʿbī wrote as a refutation of Ibn Qibbah. (See *al-Fihrist*, 219.)

759 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 360; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn,* II/143-145.

Sharif al-Murtaza *Kitāb al-Shāfīʿ* and *Fusūl*, Ibn Abī al-Hadīd *Sharh Nahj al-Balāgha*, Qādi Abd al-Jabbār *al-Mughnī.*[760]

It is seen that Ibn Qibbah had many discussions with the Zaydis during his lifetime. In this regard, his book *Naqdu Kitāb al-Ishād li-Abī Zayd al-Alawī* has survived in Shaykh Sadūq's *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma* except for small parts. After discussing the Imāmi's viewpoint and objections to the Zaydiyya's views on Imāmate based on the primacy of Fātima's progeny, he discusses the differences between themselves and the Shīʿite sects other than the Imāmiyya.[761] Another Zaydī scholar, Ahmad b. Husayn al-Hārunī (d. 411/1020), wrote a refutation of Ibn Qibbah's views on Imāmate in his book *Naqd al-Imāmah.*[762] However, nothing has survived from this work. Ibn Qibbah accepts the fact that the *khabar-i wāhid*, which is a subject of debate in the Shīʿite fiqh methodology, is evidence. Muhaqqiq al-Hillī, one of the famous renowned scholars of the later periods, is said to have made us of him in his book *Maārij al-Usūl* for the rational confirmation of belief in *khabar-i wāhid.* [763] It is said that Ibn Qibbah was a follower of Yunus ibn Abdurrahman and Fadl b. Shādhān in terms of the limits of the knowledge of the Imāms and their opening the door to fiqh deduction and ijtihad.[764] According to the information provided by the sources, most of Ibn Qibbah's works can be classified as polemics, *Kitāb al-Insāf*

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[760] Isfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamā*, V/193; Mudarrisī, *Maktab dar Farāyand-e Takāmul*, 220 (Footnote No. 4)

[761] Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma*, I/186-216.

[762] Sayyid Ahmad Husaynī, *Muallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, Intishārāte Ketabhāna-e Ayatollah Marʿashī Najafi, Qom 1413/1992, III/125.

[763] Naser Gozeshesta, 'Ibn Qibbah al-Rāzī', *Dāyiret al-Meārif-i Bozorg-i Islāmī*, Tehran 1367/1988, IV/446; It is accepted that the only known representative of the value of the news of oneness as evidence in the Imāmiyya tradition is Ibn Qibbah. (See Mudarrisī, *Maktab dar Farāyand-e Takāmul*, 238.)

[764] Mudarrisī, *Maktab dar Farāyand-e Takāmul, 232.*

fī al-Imāma,[765] *Kitāb al-Mustasbit Naqd Kitāb al-Mustarshid li-Abī al-Qāsim al-Balkhī,*[766] *Kitāb al-Taʿrif alā al-Zaydiyya,*[767] *al-Radd alā al-Zaydiyya, al-Radd alā Abī Ali al-Jubbāī, al-Masʾalet al-Mufradah fī al-Imāma,*[768] *al-Taʿrif fī Madhab al-Imāmiyya wa Fasādu Madhab-ı Zaydiyya, Naqd Kitāb al-Ishād li-Abī Zayd al-Alawī, Kitāb al-Imāma,*[769] *al-Naqdu alā Abī al-Hasan ʿAli b. Ahmad b. Bashār.*[770]

Muhammad b. Yaʻkūb b. Ishaq al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941)

He is the most famous hadith scholar of the Imāmiyya and was born in the village of Kulayn in Ray. We do not have enough information about his life. He spent most of his life in Ray and Qom collecting narrations from the Imāms, then migrated to Baghdād and died there. Al-Najashī mentions him as the Shaykh of our companions in Ray and its vicinity.[771] He is the author of the works called *Usūl al-Kāfī* and *Furūʻ al-Kāfī,* which are of great importance in terms of Shīʿite thought. Due to the traces left by his works, he is known as the renewer of the third century and with the title of "Siqat al-Islam", which has not been given to any other Shīʿite scholar.[772]

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765 Ibn Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 225; Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 207.

766 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* 359; Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 207.

767 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 207.

768 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* 359; This work is probably the work of Shaykh Sadūq In his work named *Kamāl al-Dīn, he says,* "Muʿtazila It should be the part that has survived to the present day as "Ibn Qibbah's response to the criticisms of the Imāmiyya." (See Mudarrisī, *Maktab dar Farāyand-e Takāmul*, 223.)

769 Ibn Nadim, *al-Fihrist,* 225; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Muʾminīn*, I/438-39.

770 This work is not mentioned in the Rijal books. However, Shaykh Sadūq It has survived to the present day in its entirety in the work of *Kamāl al-Dīn*. The work is a refutation written on issues related to Imāmate to ʿAli ibn Ahmad, one of the supporters of Jafar ibn ʿAli, who claimed the Imāmate after Hasan al-ʿAskarī. (See Mudarrisī, *Maktab dar Farāyand-e Takāmul*, 223.)

771 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī, 361*; al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I/314-315; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, II/ 121-123.

772 Akhtar, *Early Shiʿite Imāmiyah Thinkers*, 6-7.

Abū Tayyib al-Rāzī (d. 358/ 968 ?)

Abū Tayyib al-Rāzī, one of the Shīʿa theologians, has books on Imāmate, jurisprudence and akhbar.[773] His book *Ziyāra al-Ridā* is one of his famous works.[774] In this book, the virtues and miracles of ʿAli al-Ridā are collected. It is mentioned that he was the teacher of Murji Abū Muhammad al-Alawī and Muʿtazila al-Sarrām.[775] Yahyā b. Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Alawī al-Zubārī (d. 376/986) took lessons from him. He is said to be close to al-Murjia because of his views that there is no harm in the coexistence of faith and disbelief and that it is not necessary to say anything about the fate of those who commit great sins in the hereafter and in the world. The date of his death is not certain.[776]

Abū ʿAli Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Junayd al-Rāzī al-Isqāfī (d. 381/991)

He was one of the first scholars of jurisprudence (fiqh) of the Imāmiyya. His importance stems from his efforts to transform the tradition of jurisprudence, which had been based on narrations until his time, into a reason-centered one. Originally from Ray, he resided in Baghdād and is considered the founder of the Baghdād school of jurisprudence of the Imāmiyya. Al-Najashī mentions him as the pride of our companions, who was reliable and had numerous works. It is stated that he wrote nearly 200 books on jurisprudence and theology, primarily *Tahzīb al-Shīʿa li-Ahkām al-Sharīʿa, Kitāb al-Tahāra, al-Masah alā al-Huffayn*.[777] He visited Nīshābur in 340/951 and was met with great interest.

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[773] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 277; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 155.
[774] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 277; al-Taḥranī, *al- Zarīʿa*, XII/79.
[775] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 277; al- Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I/13.
[776] Karīman, *Ray-e Bāstān*, II, 273; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, II/59-60.
[777] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 369-71.

Shaykh Mufīd's *Masāil al-Saghāniyya,* relates his discussion with a Hanafī scholar here.[778]

Shaykh Sadūq, Muhammad b. ʿAli Bābawayh (d. 381/991)

He was born in the city of Qom into a famous family with a scholarly tradition. He received his primary education from his father, ʿAli ibn Husayn ibn Mūsā Bābawayh, who was one of the early scholars of the Shīʿa and was also known as Sadūq al-Avval, and from scholars from Qom. After that, he went to Baghdād in 339/950 and studied there for a while. Afterwards, Shaykh Sadūq returned to Qom and settled in the city of Ray upon the request of the Buwayhid Amīr Rukn al-Dawla and stayed there until the end of his life.[779] Al-Najashī praises him as "the pride of the Shīʿa in Khorasan".[780] He managed to become the greatest scholar of the entire Shīʿa community during his time by making the most of the free environment provided by the Buyids. He traveled from Ray to Balkh, Bukhara, Nīshābur, Tūs, Baghdād, Kūfa, Mecca and Medina twice in 352/963 and 368/978 in order to spread and establish the Shīʿa faith. He collected hadiths that he considered compatible with the Shīʿa faith and answered the questions of the Shīʿa in the region who were experiencing an intellectual crisis after the occultation (ghaybah). During the time of Rukn al-Dawla, Buwayhid Amīr, he participated in the debate assemblies where different schools of thought were present as the representative of the Shīʿa.[781] Shaykh Sadūq, who has many works, wrote the

[778] Shaykh Mufīd, *al-Masāil al-Sāghāniyya*, Kongra-e Shaykh Mufīd, Qom 1413/1992, 56-64.

[779] Isfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlemā*, V/202.

[780] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 372; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, II/151-153.

[781] Parvin Turkmenī Azar, *Tārīkh-e Siyasī-yi Shī'īiyān-e Isnā Asharī dar Iran*, Muassasa-e Shīashinasi, Tehran 1383/2004,161.

works *Man lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh* and *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma* upon the request of the Shīʿa in the region as a result of his travels to Khorasan. The first of these works is the narrations of the hadiths of the Shīʿa that reached the Imāms and is considered one of the *Kutub al-Arbaaʿ* and continues to be a reference source in jurisprudential issues. The other is one of the fundamental works that played a role in the foundation of the idea of the hidden Imām and aimed to find answers to the questions in the minds of the Shīʿa community. He has books consisting of the answers he gave to the questions that were sent to him by the Shīʿa living in different regions such as Basra, Kūfa, Wāsit, Madāin and Nīshābur. This shows that it was seen as a source of reference by the Shīʿites at the time.

Sāhib ibn Abbād, Abū al-Qāsim Ismāʿīl ibn Abbād (d. 385/995)

He was one of the mighty viziers of the Buwayhids. Shiʿite sources remember him favorably and make much use of him.[782] He is considered among the important figures of his time in terms of knowledge, virtue, administration, beautiful views, good morals, knowledge of various sciences, mastery of writing and writing materials.[783] He established the Sāhibī Library, which is considered one of the largest libraries of his time, with his own efforts.[784] During his time as a vizier, he supported all kinds of scientific efforts and provided a free environment for scholars. The above-mentioned *Risāla* he wrote about ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm al-Hasanī is extremely important for our study. There

[782] Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, II/ 76-80.

[783] Shams al-Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad Ibn Hallikan, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa Abnāi al-Zamān*, I-VIII, thk. Ehsan Abbas, Daru Sādır, Beirut 1968, I/228-33.

[784] The place mentioned by al-Maqdisī as "a library in Ray containing important books" is probably the library founded by Sāhib ibn Abbād. (See *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 293.)

are different opinions as to whether he was Zaydite, Mutazilite or Imāmite. He has poems about the twelve imams.[785] In addition to his books named *al-Muhīt, al-Kāfī, al-Aʿyād wa Fadāil al-Nīrūz, al-Wuzarā*, he also has a work named *al-Imāma*, in which he explains the virtues of ʿAli. [786]

ʿAli b. Muhammad b. ʿAli, al-Hazzāz al-Rāzī (d. before 420/1029)

Al-Hazzāz al-Rāzī, about whose life there is not enough information, was a student of Shaykh Sadūq.[787] We have the book *Kifāyat al-Asar fi al-Nassi alā al-Aimma Isnā Ashar*.[788] It was written to prove the Imāmate of the Imāms through hadith narrations.[789] When the work is examined, it is seen how rich the Khorasan region is in terms of Shīʿite hadith activities. Especially in the hadiths about the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt, we come across many hadiths that were passed into the Shīʿite hadith literature through the narrators in Khorasan and used in the construction of the sect in terms of belief. One of these is the hadith he narrated while he was in Bukhara, "The Prophet said, 'After me, there will be twelve Imāms and all of them are from Quraysh.'"[790]

Abū Saʿd Mansūr b. al- Husayn al-Ābī (d. 421/1030)

Saʿd al-Ābī, about whose life there is not enough information,

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[785] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-ʿUlemā*, 29; 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 233; Isfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlemā*, I/160; Hayreddin al-Zirikli, *al-Aʿlâm, Kāmūsu Tarājim*, Beirut 2002, I/316.

[786] Ibn Halliqan, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, I/230.

[787] Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, III/298.

[788] ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli al-Hazzāz al-Rāzī, *Kifāyat al-Asar fi al-Nassi alā al-Imām al-Isnā Ashar*, thk. Abdullatif Kūhakmarī, Qom 1401/1980.

[789] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 290; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, II/226-227.

[790] al-Hazzāz al-Rāzī, *Kifāyat al-Asar*, 90-91.

was one of the students of Shaykh Sadūq.[791] He served as the vizier of the Buwayhid Amīr Majd al-Dawla (d. after 420/1029). His 7-volume work called *Nasr al-Durr*,[792] which has survived to the present day, contains individual narrations from the Imāms. He is also the owner of the oldest work called *Tārīkh-e Ray*, which we do not have on the history of the city of Ray.[793] In the preface of *Nasr al-Durr*, it is emphasized that this work is one of the oldest Arabic language and literature works and that the author was a moderate Shīʿite. When we examine the work, we see that there are signs that prove the author (muhaqqiq of book) right. So much so that, while the Imāms go together until Muhammad al-Jawad in the first volume of the work, the names of the remaining three Imāms accepted by the Imāmiyya are not mentioned, instead, the names of Abdullah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan, Muhammad b. Abdullah al-Hasan and finally Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. Ismail b. Tabātabā are mentioned and the narrations from them are included. In the second volume, the phrase "Radiyallahu anhu" when referring to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar and the absence of any negative discourse against the other companions indicate his moderation.

Ahmad b. al-Husayn b. Ahmad al-Nīshābūrī al-Huzāī (d. 406/1015)

He resided in Ray. He is the father of Mufīd Nīshābūrī. Sharif al-Murtazā, Sayyid Rāzī and Shaykh Tūsī received knowledge from him. He has four volumes of *al-Amālī* on hadith,

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[791] Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 409-410.

[792] Abī Saʿd Mansūr b. al-Husayn al-Abī, *Nasr al-Durr*, I-VII, thk. Muhammad ʿAli Qurna, Merkez Tahqiq al-Turas, Byy, 1981.

[793] Brockelman does not attribute this work to him. (See *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Arabī*, III/523-4.)

Uyūn al-Ahādith and *al-Rawza* on fiqh, and *al-Sunen*, *al-Miftāh* and *al-Manāsik* on usūl.[794]

Nīshābur

Nīshābur is the most famous city of Khorasan, both because it is a city of science and trade and because of the famous people it has raised. The city, which was conquered peacefully during the reign of ʿUthman, has made great contributions to the glory of Islamic civilization throughout its history.

Parallel to the increasing importance of the city, especially during the Tāhirids and Sāmānids, the fact that it was the cultural center of the Islamic world allowed many sects to find a place to live in this region. In this context, the 4th/10th century author al-Maqdisī provides the following information about the sectarian structure of the city: "The Muʿtazila are numerous as can be seen, but they are not powerful. The Shīʿa and Karrāmiyya are quite popular. The majority are supporters of Abū Hanifa. Chaj, Aylāk, Tūs, Nasa, Abivard, Tiraz, Sanaghāj, Bukhara, Sanj, Dandanakan, Isfarayin and Juyan are all Shafiʿī."[795] As can be seen, Nīshābur has been shown as one of the places in Khorasan where Shiʿism was densely practiced.

Contemporary Shīʿite sources attempt to date the introduction of Shiʿism to Nīshābur to very early times. According to Dashtī, the introduction of Shiʿism to Nīshābur dates back to the time of a companion named Buraydah al-Aslamī, who narrated hadiths about the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt, and it is argued that these ideas were established when Jaʿda b. Hubayrah, the nephew of ʿAli, was appointed as the governor of the region.[796] However, we do not have any other data to support

[794] Shaykh Muntajabūddin, *al-Fihrist*, 32.
[795] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 248.
[796] Dashtī, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Nīshābūr*, 104.

this view, which is a product of the Shīʿite sources' effort to date the foundations of the sect in the city to very early times.

It is seen that Shiʿite tendencies first emerged in the city as an extension of the Umayyad-Hāshimite rivalry. It is seen that this tendency emerged as an extension of the attraction towards Umayyads. Such a tendency came to light in the context of anti-Umayyadism during the Abbasid revolution. When the leader of the Abbasid movement Muhammad b. ʿAli sent his messenger to Khorasan in 109/727-728, he ordered him to stay away from a man named Ghālib from Abrshahr (Nīshābur) who had extreme ideas about love for the children of Fātima. While a daʿī named Ziyād was talking about the oppression and deterioration of the Umayyads in Khorasan and was carrying out daʿwah activities on behalf of the sons of Abbas, the person called Ghālib came to Ziyād and argued with him for a while about the Tālibid lineage being more superior than the Abbasids, and then he left.[797] Sources report that Ghālib was a proponent of Muhammad al-Bāqir's Imāmate and that he had friends who shared this view with him.[798] However, this information cannot be verified by other sources. The sources also mention a companion of Muhammad al-Bāqir named Yazīd b. Muhammad an-Nīsābūrī.[799] His son, Muhlid b. Yazīd al-Nīsābūrī, was mentioned among the companions of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq,[800] both are unknown persons who cannot be verified in the sources.

After the death of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, it is seen that there was a group in Nīshābur that was in contact with the Imāms and sent

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[797] al-Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, VII/49-50; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, IV/382.

[798] *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya*, 204.

[799] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 149.

[800] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 239; Khūyī, *Muʿjam Rijāl al-Hadith*, XVIII/106.

their financial obligations (zakat, sadaqah, etc.) directly to the Imāms at certain intervals. Information about this is mentioned between the lines of[801] hagiographic narrations in Shīʿite literature. Based on the assumption that it is meaningless to discuss the authenticity of hagiographic narrations, what is really important for us in this regard is the issue of the Shīʿite community in Khorasan's relations with the Imāms. Based on these and similar narrations, we see that towards the end of the period of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, there were groups in Nīshābur who considered the people of ʿAli's lineage, who were accepted as Imāms, to be authorized in religious matters and who demonstrated this idea in action.

The emergence of the Imāmite groups in Nīshābur coincides with ʿAli al-Ridā and after period. It is known that ʿAli al-Ridā came to Nīshābur during his journey to Khorasan and stayed there for a few months.[802] He was met with great interest by the people of Nīshābur during this visit. Shīʿa sources attribute special importance to ʿAli al-Ridā's coming to Nīshābur during his journey to Khorasan and his activities there, and con-

[801] One of these narrations is as follows: "The people of Nīshābur appointed a person named Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad ibn ʿAli Nīshāburi as their deputy and sent their goods to Medina to deliver them to the Imām. Abū Jaʿfar's caravan first stopped in Kūfa and while there he was meeting with a person named Abū Hamza Samālī, news of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq's death reached him. The caravan headed to Medina to find out who the new Imām was in order to deliver their goods. When Abū Jaʿfar reached Medina, he wanted to deliver the goods to Abdullah ibn Aftah, who had been accepted as the Imām. He asked Abdullah some questions to understand whether he was the Imām or not, but when his questions remained unanswered, he became demoralized and went to the shrine of the Prophet and prayed to Allah to reveal the Imām to him. At that moment, a person from the unknown calls out to him and informs him that Mūsā al-Kāzim is waiting for him. Abū Jaʿfar receives the answers to his questions completely and gives the goods with him to Mūsā al-Kāzim and then sets off on his way." (See Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āli Abī Tālib*, thk. Yusuf al-Baqā'i, Dār al-Adwā, Beirut 1412/1991, IV/315-317.

[802] Hakim al-Nīshāburi, although it is said that he stayed here for 4 years, this information must be wrong. (See *Tārīkh al-Nīsābur*, 132.)

sider the fact that thousands of people welcomed him on the road when he entered the city as a sign of Shiʿism.[803] However, instead of seeing this interest shown to ʿAli al-Ridā as a product of the understanding of love for the lineage of the Prophet seen in the entire Islamic society, associating it with Shiʿism draws attention as forced interpretations. It is mentioned that ʿAli al-Ridā's had three companions, Ibrahim b. Sallām,[804] Fadl ibn Sinān[805] and Hammād ibn Sulayman al-Nīshāburī,[806] who were connections with this city.[807]

In the period of ʿAli al-Hādī, among the people who were in his close circle and had connections with the city were Bishr b. Bashar al-Nīshāburī,[808] Dawud b. Abī Zayd,[809] Fadl b. Shādhān al-Nīshāburī,[810] Hamdan ibn Sulayman ibn Umayrah,[811] Ibrahim ibn Abdah Nīshāburi,[812] Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Faris al-Nīshāburī,[813] Mūsā b. Murshid al-Varrāk names such as listed.[814]

During the period of Hasan al-ʿAskarī, we see that the Shīʿite community in Nīshābur differentiated in terms of both number and quality. During this period, in parallel with the increase in the population of the Imāmite community, a distribution of

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[803] Dashtī, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Nīshābūr,* 158.
[804] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 353.
[805] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 363.
[806] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 356.
[807] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 353, 363.
[808] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 384.
[809] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 424; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 386. He is also among the companions of Hasan al-ʿAskarī. 399; Ibn Nadim gives the name of a work of his called *Kitāb al-Hadā* (See *al-Fihrist*, 246.)
[810] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 390. He is also among the companions of Hasan al-ʿAskarī. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 401.)
[811] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 386. He is also among the companions of Hasan al-ʿAskarī. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 398.)
[812] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 384. He is also among the companions of Hasan al-ʿAskarī. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 397)
[813] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 431; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 383.
[814] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 392.

duties was made among the deputies who worked on behalf of the Imām. For example, the names of Ishaq ibn Ismail al-Nīshāburī and Ibrahim ibn Abdeh al-Nīshāburī are mentioned as the deputies of financial affairs; Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-Nīshāburī is mentioned as the deputies of guidance (irshād).[815] Apart from these, ʿAli ibn Shujaʿ al-Nīshāburī,[816] al-Amrakī ibn ʿAli al-Būfakī al-Nīshāburi[817] are also mentioned among Hasan al-ʿAskarī's close circle. We also witness that Shiʿite ideas were discussed at the scholarly level in the city during this period with people like Fadl b. Shādhān, who could think relatively independently of the Imāms and was considered one of the leading Shiʿite theologians.

Hasan al-ʿAskarī seems to have tried to play an active role in solving local problems related to the Imāmite community and in some cases sent special envoys to request reports on the situation. In one of these, a group known for their ghulāt ideas in the city complained about Fadl b. Shādhān to Hasan al-ʿAskarī and asked the Imām to send a representative. Thereupon, the Imām sent his representative named Ayyūb ibn Nāb to Nīshābur. Ayyūb b. Nāb went to the house of Fadl's opponents from the ghulāt and listened to them, and they urged him to write a letter criticizing on Fadl to be sent to the Imām. When there was no response from the Imām to this letter, they tried to humiliate Fadl among the Shiʿite community in the city by writing a fabricated reply.[818] These discussions show that while the Imāms were still alive, there were groups that produced extreme views about them, as well as groups that accepted the author-

[815] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 407-410; al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 439; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 397.
[816] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 400.
[817] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 400.
[818] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 383.

ity of the Imāms and at the same time were able to think independently.

In the 4th/10th century, we see that Nīshābur gained momentum in terms of hadith activities and became a prominent place in this field. As the city hosted famous figures in the field of hadith, famous Shīʿa figures traveled here and formed councils (majlis) to collect hadith narrations. In this context, Shaykh Sadūq, who lived in Ray, traveled to Nīshābur and other cities of Khorasan in 352/963 and 368/978 and collected hadith narrations there. Among the people from whom Shaykh Sadūq collected hadith in Nīshābur were Abū ʿAli Husayn ibn Ahmad al-Bayhaqī, Abdulwāhid ibn Muhammad ibn Abdus al-Nīshāburī, Abū Mansur Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn Bakr al-Hūrī, Abū Saʿīd Muhammad ibn Fazl ibn Muhammad ibn Ishaq Muzakkir al-Nīshāburī, Abū al-Tayyīb Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Rāzī, Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Abdulwahhāb al-Sijzī, Abū Nasr Ahmad ibn al-Husayn ibn Ahmad ibn Ubayd al-Dabiyy al-Marwānī.[819]

During his stay in Nīshābur, Shaykh Sadūq groundwork for some of his important books in terms of Shīʿa thought. One of these is *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma,* in which he based the idea of occultation (ghaybah). In the introduction of his work, Shaykh Sadūq states that many of the Shī'ite who came to him in Nīshābur probably under the influence of the Hanafī-Murji'i circles that were intensely active in the region had many questions in their minds about the Imām's occultation and therefore they turned to opinion and analogy. He states that in order to eliminate these hesitations, he decided to write such a book upon the advice of Shaykh Najmuddin Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn

[819] Muhammad Javād Ghaffārī, "Muqaddima", *Man lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh,* Daru'l-Kutübi'l-Islamiyya, Tehran 1387/2008, 1-3.

Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn ʿAli ibn Salt, a Shī'ite from Qom who lived in the region. Shaykh Sadūq, who said that he saw the Mahdī in his dream one night when he returned to Ray, stated that he started writing this book the next day and used mostly the narrations of narrators from Khorasan.[820]

In the 4th/10th century, it is observed that the Qarmatian-Ismāʿīlīs, who received the support of the Saffarids for a short time, gained power in the city and were appointed to important positions. After the assassination of the da'ī known as al-Shaʿrānī in Nīshābur, Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Nasafī took his place and carried the da'wah activities to Transoxiana. Al-Nasafī, who was also a competent person in terms of science, wrote *Kitāb al-Mahsūl*, and Abū Yaʿqūb (al-Sijistanī) wrote his books *Asās al-Daʿwa, Ta'wīl al-Sharāʿī,* and *Kashfu al-Asrār* in this region.[821]

The activities of the Ismāʿīlīs in the city caused the Imāmite community, which was not involved in any political activities in the region, and especially after Mahmud of Ghazni dominated the city, it became uninhabitable for the Shīʿites due to the influence of sectarian fanaticism.[822] Al-Maqdisī's statement that there were sectarian conflicts in the city, especially between the Shīʿa and the Karrāmiyya, is probably an indication that this situation had become evident.[823] On the other hand, Bulliet emphasizes that the struggle between the members of these two sects had more economic reasons, and that the struggle between the Karrāmis living in the poorer region and the Shīʿa who were relatively rich and belonged to the merchant class

[820] Shaykh Sadūq, *Man lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh*, I/4-6.
[821] el-Bağdâdî, *Mezhepler Arasındaki Farklar*, 220.
[822] Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 337.
[823] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 258.

was not between communities but between some notables.[824] Another noteworthy comment on this is that it is possible for the Karrāmis to call all groups opposing them Ismāʿīlī Shīʿites.[825]

Khwarizmī (d. 383/993), one of the important figures of the 4th/10th century, wrote a letter to the Shīʿa community in the city during this period, advising them to be patient in the face of the negativities they experienced. The letter, which is also worth seeing from a literary perspective, ends with the following list of the injustices that the Shīʿa have suffered throughout their history:

> "Although the influence of the tashayyuʿ is limited in Khorasan, it is superior in Hijaz and Haramayn, Damascus and Iraqayn, Jazira and Sagharayn, Jabal and Yegharayn. They have rulers and viziers who oppress us, but we have a ruler who is never dismissed, a judge who never deviates from justice, an arbitrator who does not accept bribes and does not need a record or witnesses. We praise our Lord for this pure birth and good lineage and ask him not to leave us alone with our nafs and not to hold us accountable only for our deeds. That our Lord may protect us from the stupidity of the Hashwiyyah, from the stubbornness of the Harūriyyah, from the skepticism of the Wāqifiyyah, from the darkness of the Hanafiyyah, and from the inconsistency of the Shāfiʿiyyah in their words, From the arrogance of the Baqriyyah, from the deceit of the Mālikiyyah, from the compulsion of the Jahmiyyah and the Najjāriyyah, from the laziness of the Rāwandiyyah, from the narrations of the Kaysāniyyah, from the denial of the ʿUthmāniyyah, from the tashbīh

[824] Richard W. Bulliet, "The Political-Religious History of Nīshābur in the "Eleventh Century", *Islamic Civilization 950-1150,* (ed. DS Richards), Bruno Cassirer, Oxford 1973, 74.

[825] Richard W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nīshābur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History,* Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University, 1972, 14-15.

of the Hanbaliyyah, and to protect him from the ghulat lies of the Khattabiyyah, and also from the deceit of the Isfahanīs, the hatred of Ahl al-Bayt by the people of Tūs and Shāsh, the irjāʿ of the people of Kūfa, the tashbīh of the people of Qom, the ignorance of the people of Damascus, and the Hanbalization of the people of Baghdād, we ask him not to gather us together with the subtle sayings of the Maghribis, the love of the Hanafis of Balkh, the contradictory sayings of the Hijāzis, the apostasy of the Sijistānis, and the ghuluw of the Kharhis in tashayyuʿ. We ask that on the day when everyone will be called by their Imāms and gathered under their banners, he will gather us with those whom he loves and with whose intercession we are provided…"[826]

On the other hand, although the Shīʿa did not have a visible political superiority in the city, their social power was always a factor that was taken into consideration. A narration related to this is noteworthy in terms of showing the extent of this power. Hanafī judge (qadi) Abū al-Alā Saʿīd b. Muhammad Ustuwayī (d. 432/1040) in Nīshābur, while returning from Hajj in 375/985, issued a fatwa against the attempt to build a coffin on the grave of Harun al-Rashid and came to the Caliph to be held accountable for this. He stated that doing such a thing would provoke the Shīʿites and lead to discord. This defense was accepted by the Caliph.[827]

Abū al-Qāsim Ubaydullah b. ʿAbdullah al-Hasanī (d.490/1096), one of the famous hadith scholars of the period, narrated 626 hadiths about the virtues of Ahl al-Bayt and ʿAli in his book *Shawāḥid*

[826] Sādiq Āinevend, 'Sharh Risālati Abī Baqr al-Khārezmī ilā Jamāʿati al-Shīʿa bi-Nīsābūr', 65.

[827] Heyet, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ*, II/248 (quoted from *the History of Nīshābur*, 266); Muhammad al-Fājālū, *al-Hayāt al-ʿIlmiyya fi Nīsābūr Khilāl al-Faṭrāt 290-548 (901-1153)*, Jāmiat Umm al-Qurā, Makkah 1431/2010142-143.

al-Tanzīl li-Qawāid al-Tafdīl. We understand from the introduction that he wrote this work against the negative propaganda of the Karrāmis in Nīshābur.[828] The narrations in this work were compiled by the famous Shīʿite mufassir al-Tabarsī's *Majmaʿ al-Bayān* after him. It constituted one of the important sources of his work.[829] Similarly, al-Majlisī also used his narrations extensively in his books. This work continues to be among the most important works of Shīʿite propaganda activities today.

Abū Abdallah al-Hakīm al-Nīshāburī is known as a Shafi'ī scholar, he is a person whose hadiths are frequently cited by Shiʿite sources. In particular, the narration he narrated, *"Whose mawlā I am, ʿAli is also his mawlā"* which is widely used by Shiʿites, has led to him being accused of being a Shiʿite.[830]

We also see that there were some connections between the ulamā in the city and Baghdād, which became the center of Shīʿa scholarship in this century. An example of this is Shaykh al-Mufīd's *Jawābāt Abī al-Hasan an-Nīsābūrī*, which was intended to answer the questions of Sayyid Abū al-Hasan Alawī (?) in Nīshābūr.[831]

Important Shiʿī Families

Qanbar Family

Qanbar was a slave of ʿAli and one of his closest friends. After Qanbar was killed by Hajjāj, his sons Khāni and his son Jumʿa b. Khāni migrated from Kūfa to Nīshābur. Hakīm al-Nīshābūrī is one of the first authors to mention the Qanbar family. Hakīm counts ʿAli b. Jumʿa among the scholars of Nīshābur

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[828] Ubaydullah ibn ʿAbdullah Haskānī, *Shawāḥid al-Ṭanzīl li-kawāidi al-Tafdīl*, thk. Muhammad Bāqir Mahmūdī, Tehran 1411/1990, 19-20.

[829] Husayn Karīman, *Tabarsī wa Majmaʿ al-Bayān*, I-II, Intishārāt-e Danishgah-e Tehran, 1361/1982, II/60.

[830] Brockelman, *Tārīkh al-Adabī al-Arabī*, II/229.

[831] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 382.

in the section "Atba al-Atbāʿ".[832] From this family, it is reported that Kathīr b. Tārīq al-Qanbarī narrated from Zayd b. ʿAli, and an unnamed book of his is mentioned.[833] It is known that some members of this family later settled in the city of Bayhaq near Nīshābur.[834] For many centuries, members of the family were beloved and revered by Shiʿite circles because of their closeness to the ʿAli. The shrines of some members of the Qanbar family are located five kilometers from Nīshābur to Sabzawar and continue to attract a great deal of Shiʿī attention.[835]

Shādhān Family

The most influential figures of Shiʿism in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries in Nīshābur were members of this family. In addition to the transmission of Shiʿite ideas to Khorasan through the hadiths transmitted through the Imāms, the fact that the early examples of Shiʿite theology belong to members of this family shows their place in Shiʿite thought. The members of this family contributed to the works of later periods by transmitting the accumulated knowledge of the sect.

Shādhān b. Khalīl (3rd/9th century)

He is better known as the father of the famous Imāmite theologian Fadl b. Shādhān. "Shādhān" is also mentioned as Khalil's nickname in some sources.[836] He was among the prominent figures of the Imāmite community during his lifetime. Early sources state that he was sika. He was one of Yunus b. ʿAbd al-

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[832] Hakīm al-Nīshāburi, *Tārīkh al-Nīsābur*, 27.

[833] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 305; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 391

[834] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 25.

[835] Dashtī, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Nīshābūr*, 164-167.

[836] There is not enough information about the Shādhān in the early sources. Based on the name "Azdī", it is thought that they were of Arab origin. (Cf. al-Kashshī, *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 345; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 295.)

Raḥmān's close companions and rāwīs who attended his scholarly gatherings.[837] He is also mentioned as a narrator of Mūsā al-Kāzim, Ali al-Ridā, and Muhammad al-Jawād.[838] There are hadiths narrated from him in Shiʿī hadith books. He traveled with his sons to cities such as Kūfa, Baghdād, Medina and Qom to visit famous scholars of the period. Among the famous names he visited were Yunus b. Abd al-Rahman, Muhammad b. Abī ʿUmayr, Hasan b. Ali b. Faddāl, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Isa, Muhammad b. Sinan, who were well known in Shiʿī circles. It is known that Shādhān had sons named Fadl, ʿAli, Nuʿaym and Muhammad. Among his students and those who narrated from him are his sons, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Isa al-Ashʿarī, Muhammad b. Jumhur, Muhammad b. Husayn b. Abī al-Khattab, Ahmad b. Nuʿaym b. Shādhān, Jaʿfar b. Nuʿaym b. Shādhān, Jaʿfar b. Muhammad b. Shādhān, Qanbar b. ʿAli b. Shādhān, and Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Nuʿaym b. Shādhān.

Fadl b. Shādhān Abū Muhammad al-Nīshābūrī (d. 260/873)

His first education was given by his father. He narrated from Muhammad al-Jawād and, according to some, from ʿAli al-Ridā.[839] However, Shaykh al-Tūsī mentions him among the companions of ʿAli al-Hādī.[840] According to the sources, he also had a privileged position with al-Hasan al-ʿAskarī.[841] He often traveled with his father, meeting Shiʿite scholarly circles and narrating hadith from important people. A look at the people from whom

[837] Most of the narrations in al-Kashshī about Yunus ibn Abdurrahman are based on him. (See *Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 344-46; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 295; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 229.)

[838] Shaykh Tūsī mentions him only among the companions of Muhammad al-Jawad. (See *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 376.)

[839] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 295; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/400

[840] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 390.

[841] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 383.

Fadl narrated hadith reveals that he traveled to Medina, Baghdād, Kūfa, Damascus, al-Wāsit, Basra, and Qom.[842] He learned from Muhammad Abī ʿUmayr al-Azdī al-Baghdādī (d. 217/832), Safwan b. Yahyā al-Bajalī al-Kūfī (d. 210/825), Hammad b. Isa al-Juhanī al-Kūfī al-Basrī (d. 209/824) and narrated many hadiths from them. He also narrated from Muhammad b. Sinān al-Zāhirī, al-Hasan b. ʿAli b. al-Faddāl, and ʿAbdullah b. Jibāl al-Qinānī. A total of 839 hadiths were narrated through Fadl b. Shādhān in the *Kutub al-Arbaaʿ*.[843] He distinguished himself in theology, hadith, jurisprudence and Qur'anic sciences, and after the death of Muhammad b. Khalil al-Sakkāq, he was recognized as the leader of the theologians within the Imāmiyya.[844] His views were widely used in Fiqh, Farā'īz, Hadith, Rijāl and Kalām by scholars such as al-Kashshī, al-Kulaynī, al-Najāshī, Shaykh Sadūq and Shaykh Tūsī.[845] Although he is said to have around 180 books[846] Shaykh Tūsī 32,[847] al-Najāshī gives the names of 48 of his works.

Fadl b. Shādhān had a polemical and defensive style.[848] He also wrote refutations against the Mutazilites, the Khārijīs, Ibn Karrām, Sunnīte jurists, Murjiah, Bātiniyya or Ghulāt al-Shīʿa, philosophers, and dualists or Sanawīs. This shows that he was

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[842] Mahdī Bayāt Mukhtārī, *Khorshīd-e Sharq dar Sada-e Sevvom Fadl b. Shādhān Nīshābūrī*, Muassasa-e Kitabshināsi-ye Shīʿa, Qom 1392/2013, 206-209.

[843] Mukhtārī, *Khorshīd-e Sharq*, 358.

[844] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 382.

[845] Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, I/408-410.

[846] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-ʿUlemā*, 106-107; Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, III/286.

[847] Shaykh Tūsī reported that all of Fadl ibn Shādhān's narrations and books reached him through two channels. These are: a) Shaykh Mufīd-Shaykh Sadūq-Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Walīd-Ahmad ibn Idris-ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Qutayba- Fadl ibn Shādhān, b) Shaykh Mufīd-Shaykh Sadūq-Hamza ibn Muhammad al-Alawī-Abī Nasr Qanbqr ibn ʿAli ibn Shādhān-ʿAli ibn Shādhān-Fadl ibn Shādhān. (See *al-Fihrist*, 199.)

[848] el-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 381; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/ 400.

at the center of the intellectual life of the period, not only in the field of theology, but also in fields such as law and philosophy.[849]

We see that Fadl b. Shādhān had works in many different fields. It is possible to classify these works according to their subjects as follows:

His books in the field of fiqh: *Kitāb al-Sunan, Kitāb al-ʿIlal,*[850] *Kitāb al-Farāiz al-Kabīr, Kitāb al-Farāiz al-Awsat, Kitāb al-Farāiz al-Saghīr, Kitāb al-Masah alā al-Huffayn, Kitāb al-Masāʾili al-Buldān, Kitāb al-Masāʾil wa al-Jawābāt, Kitāb al-Mutʿatayn Mutʿa al-Nisā wa Mutʿat al-Hajj, Kitāb al-Taarrī wa al-Hāsil,*[851] *Kitāb al-Talāq,*[852] *Kitāb al-Najāh fī Amal Shahr Ramadān, Kitāb Jamʿ fīhi Masāʾili Muṭafarrika li-Abī Savr wa al-Shāfiiʿ wa al-Isfahanī wa al-Ghayrihim.*[853]

His books in the field of Kalām: *Kitāb al-Naqd alā al-Isqāfī fī al-Taqwiyat al-Jism, Kitāb al-Waīd, Kitāb al-Radd alā Ahl al-Taʿtīl, Kitāb al-Istitāʿa,*[854] *Kitāb al-Radd ala al-Ghāliya al-Muhammadiyya,*[855]

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[849] Josef Van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere,* Berlin-New York 2011, I/216-218.

[850] Shaykh Sadūq wrote a book entitled *ʿIlal al-Sharāyiʿ*. In this work, he attributes the chain of narrators of his book to Fadl b. Shādhān through ʿAbd al-Wāhid b. ʿAbdūs and ʿAli b. Muhammad b. Qutayba an-Nīshābūrī. It is likely that Shaykh Sadūq quoted Fadl b. Shādhān's *Kitāb al-ʿIlāl*. (See Mukhtārī, *Khorshīd al-Sharq*, 539.)

[851] Aghabozorg al-Tahrānī states that the title of the book appears in other copies as *al-Shiʾrī wa al-Hāṣil* (See, *al-Zarīʿa,* IV/211.)

[852] It must be the same book as *Kitāb al-Nakd alā Abī Ubayd fī al-Talāq* mentioned in Shaykh Ṭūsī (See *al-Fihrist*, 198.)

[853] His student Ali b. Qutayba called this book *Kitāb al-Dībāj*. Based on this work, it was claimed that there were connections between the Shiʿītes and the Shafiʾīs in the field of fiqh and that the Shiʿītes took the Shafiʾīs as an example instead of the Hanafī method of qiyas. (See Devin J. Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shīʿite Responses to the Sunnī Legal System,* University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City 1998, 65.)

[854] The first to write a book on this subject was Zurāra b. Aʿyan (d. 150/767). Later, Hishām b. al-Hakam (d. 179/795), Muhammad b. Khalīl al-Sakkāq, and Muhammad b. Abī ʿUmayr also wrote books with this title. This shows that Fadl was a follower of these figures and was aware of the anti-Mutazilite tradition.

[855] It must be the same book that appears in Shaykh Ṭūsī as *Kitāb al-Radd ala al-Ghulāt*. (See *al-Fihrist*, 198.)

Kitāb fī Isbāt al-Rijʿa, Kitāb al-Radd alā Muhammad b. Karrām, Kitāb al-Waʿd wa al-Waʿid Āhar, Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Bayān (al-Yamān) b. Riāb,[856] *Kitāb al-Arbaaʿ Masā'il fi al-Imāma, Kitāb al-Īmān, Kitāb al-Radd ala al-Murjia, Kitāb al-Radd ala al-Qarāmita,*[857] *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd fi Kitābillah,*[858] *Kitāb al-Imāmah Kabīr, Kitāb al-Hisāl fi al-Imāmah, Kitāb al-Tanbīh fi al-Jabr wa al-Tashbīh,*[859] *Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Sanawiyya, Kitāb al-Radd alā Ahmad b. Husayn,*[860] *Kitāb Fadli Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Kitāb Maʿrifat al-Hadā wa al-Dalāla, Kitāb al-Radd ala al-Hashwiyya, Kitāb al-Nisbah bayna al-Jabriyya wa al-Sanawiyya,*[861] *Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Hasan al-Basri fi al-Tafdīl, Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Dāmiqhat al-Sanawiyya, Kitāb al-Tibyān Asl al-Dalāla, Kitāb al-Husnā, Kitāb al-Radd ala al-Asamm,*[862] *Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Bāise,*[863] *Kitāb al-Latīf, Kitāb al-Mihnat al-Islām, Kitāb al-Miʿyār wa al-Muwāzana, Kitāb al-Rijʿa, Kitāb Hazw al-Naʿl bi al-Naʿl, Kitāb al-Qāim, Kitāb al-Malāhim, Kitāb al-ʿArūs.*[864]

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856 Yamān b. Ribāb al-Khārijī in Shaykh Tūsī. (See *al-Fihrist*, 198.)

857 *Kitāb al-Radd ala al-Bātiniyya wa al-Karāmita* in Shaykh Ṭūsī. (See *al-Fihrist*, 198.)

858 In Shaykh Ṭūsī, it is mentioned as *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd min Kutubillāh al-Munazzilat al-Arbaaʿ* with the addition of a note that it is a refutation of the Khārijī Yazid b. Bazīʿ. (See *al-Fihrist*, 198.)

859 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 198.

860 Shaykh Ṭūsī refers to him as *Kitāb al-Raddʿalā Ahmad b. Yahyā*. (See *al-Fihrist*, 198); there is no clear information about who this person was. However, it can be assumed that he was Abū Jaʿfar Ahmad b. Husayn b. Saʿīd b. Mihrān Ahwazī, who lived in the same period with Fadl. This person, along with his father, was accused of being weak and ghuluw by the scholars of Qom. (See Mukhtārī, *Khorshīd-e Sharq*, 562); According to al-Tahrānī, Ahmad b. Husayn and Ahmad b. Yahyā are the same person. The correct one should be Ahmad b. Husayn. (See *al- Zarīʿa*, X/181.)

861 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 295.

862 There is no definite information about the identity of the person named Asamm. However, he was probably Abū Bakr Asamm, a Mutazilite who lived at the same time as Fadl and criticized the Shīʿa's view of imāmate. It is possible that Fadl wrote a refutation of his views on imamate. (See Mukhtārī, *Khorshīd-e Sharq*, 563-64.)

863 It is not certain who or what the addressee of this work was. However, it is likely that he was Nawusiyya, one of the Shīʿite ghulat sects, who had extreme views about ʿAli. (See Mukhtārī, *Khorshīd-e Sharq*, 566.)

864 This work, about whose content there is no information, is thought to be in the

His books in the field of philosophy: *Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Falāsifa, Kitāb al-Naqd alā man Yad'iya al-Falsafat fi al-Tawhīd wa al-Aʿrāz wa al-Jawāhir wa al-Juz,*[865] *Kitāb al-Radd ala al-Mināniyya, Kitāb al-Aʿrāz wa al-Jawāhir, al-Masā'il fi al-ʿĀlam wa Hudūsihi.*[866]

As can be seen, Fadl b. Shādhān produced a wide range of works from theology and fiqh to philosophy. However, the fact that most of his works are lost makes it difficult for us to make a holistic assessment of him. His only surviving work, *al-Īzāḥ*, reflects his intellectual struggle with the members of other sects in Nīshābur. When the work is examined, it is easily understood that many sects such as Ahl al-Hadīth, Murjiah, Muʿtazila, etc. were engaged in an intense intellectual struggle in the city.

Zubāra Family

Some members of the Zubāra family, who settled first in Nīshābur and then in Bayhaq and traced their lineage back to ʿAli b. Husayn Zayn al-Abidin, were prominent for their embrace of Shiʿism. The eldest of this family, Muhammad Zubāra, was an influential person in Medina. Likewise, his son Ahmad was an obedient ruler there.[867] The first of this family to come to Nīshābur was Ahmad Zubāra b. Muhammad Akbar b. Abdullah Zāhid b. Hasan Makfūf b. Hasan Aftas b. Ali Atḥār b. Ali b. Husayn. Ahmad Zubāra was residing in Medina, where he was born, when the Zaydīs of Tabaristān offered him the imāmate and he traveled there. Later, when a disagreement arose between him and the dāʿī in Tabaristān, he left and his brother

field of dictionary. (See Mukhtārī, *Khorshīd-e Sharq*, 536.)

[865] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 198.

[866] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist, 198.* In addition to these, Shaykh Tūsī stated that Ibn al-Nadīm mentioned a few books belonging to the Ahl al-Sunnah and suggested that the person whose books were mentioned might be Fadl b. Shādhān al-Rāzī, one of the scholars of the Ahl al-Sunnah.

[867] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 168.

ʿAli went to Jurjān, and he came to Āba, a town near Qom, and then to Nīshābur.[868] The family had good relations with the rulers of the region due to their maternal ties to the Tāhirids. The eldest of the family, Abū Jaʿfar Ahmad b. Muhammad Zubāra, developed this relationship by marrying Abdullah b. Thāhir's sister.[869] Later, there were various marriages among his descendants. They held important positions in Nīshābur, such as Naqīb in charge of the affairs of the Tālibīs. Abū ʿAli Muhammad b. Ahmad Zubāra was known as the shaykh of the Tālibīs in Nīshābur and Khorasan in his century. The arrival of members of the sons of ʿAli in Nīshābur led to the construction of a special shrine called "Maqbarat al-Alawiyya" and Abū ʿAli was buried there in 360/970.[870] Some of the important members of the Zubāra family are as follows:

Abū ʿAli, Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Zubārī al-Nīshābūrī (260/873-360/970)

Abū ʿAli's full name is Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. ʿAbdullah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan al-Aftas ʿAli b. ʿAli b. al-Husayn b. ʿAli b. Abī Tālib. He was the shaykh of the Tālibis in Nīshābur and Khorasan in his time. He heard hadith from Husayn b. al-Fadl al-Bajalī. Abū Muhammad Yahyā Zubāra, the son of his brother, and a group of others transmitted from him. He read the books of Fadl b. Shādhān from ʿAli b. Qutayba. Shaykh Sadūq has narrations from him in *Kamāl al-Dīn*. Ibn Funduq emphasizes that he belonged to the Imāmiyya based on the fact that he took five tak-

[868] Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 338; Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, II/492.
[869] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 55; Ibn 'Anba, *ʿUmda al-Tālib*, 210.
[870] Heyet, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ*, 239-240.

birs in a funeral prayer he led.[871] He died in Nīshābur and was buried in Maqbarat al-Alawiyya.[872]

Muhammad b. Ahmad Zubāra, Abū al-Husayn (d. 339/950)

Abū al-Husayn is known by the nickname "Sāhib al-Arzāq". He claimed caliphate for about 4 months during the reign of the Samanid ruler Nasr b. Ahmad and had a khutba read in his name. During this period, a large number of rulers, commanders and scholars swore allegiance to him. It is said that Amīr Nasr b. Ahmad exiled him to Bukhara but called him back to Nīshābur after a dream he had. Narrated by Abū al-Husayn from ʿAli ibn Qutayba al-Nīshābūrī.[873]

Zufar b. Abū al-Husayn Muhammad b. Ahmad Zubāra, Abū Mansūr (4th/10th century)

He is the person to whom al-Hākim al-Nīshābūrī directly narrated some hadiths that are frequently used in Shiʿi literature. These include the "Manzila" hadith, which the Shīʿa consider one of the proofs of imāmate, and the Prophet's hadith that loving Hasan and Husayn means loving oneself.[874] He learned from his uncle Abū ʿAli Muhammad b. Zubāra and Abū al-ʿAbbas Muhammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Asamm and his contemporaries in Nīshābur; from Abū Sālih Khalaf b. Muhammad al-Hayyam in Bukhara; and from Ahmad b. Salman al-Faqīh in Baghdād. He narrated from Salman al-Faqīh and Abū ʿAbdullah Muhammad b. Muhallid al-Qādī; in Kūfa he narrated

871 Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, II/494.
872 Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, II/494; Marūf, *'Urūba al-Mansūbīn*, I/195; al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I/ 237.
873 Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, II/495; Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 57; Ibn 'Anba, *ʿUmda al-Tālib*, 209-210.
874 Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, II/496.

from Abū al-Husayn ʿAli b. ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Mānī and Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. ʿAli b. Dahīm al-Shaybānī.[875]

Yahyā al-Zubārī al-Nīshābūrī, Abū Muhammad (318-376/930-986)

His real name is Abū Muhammad Yahyā b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Abdullah b. al-Hasan al-Zubārī. Abū Muhammad was a learned, zāhīd, scholar and was nicknamed "Naqīb al-Nuqabāʾ al-Nīshābūr" and "Shaykh al-ʿItre". He took lessons from Abū al-Abbas Muhammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Asamm in Nīshābur and Abū al-Abbas Abdullah b. al-Husayn al-Basrī in Marw. He also traveled to Bukhara and Baghdād. When he returned from the pilgrimage, he went to Jurjān and died there. Sāhib b. ʿAbbād wrote a book praising him and gave it to his son Abū al-Husayn. It is narrated that when he went on Hajj, he took 700 people from the scholars and the Sādāt with him.[876] None of his works have survived. Considering the titles of his works, it can be said that he was a Shiʿite.[877] Among his books, *al-Masah alā al-Rijlayn*,[878] *Kitāb al-Fī Ibtāli al-Qiyas*,[879] it is mentioned that he has written many books on *al-Tawhīd wa Sāir Abwābihi* and on Imāmate.[880] *Kitāb al-Imāma*, *Kitāb al-Usūl* and *Kitāb al-Farāiz* are also attributed to him.[881]

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875 Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, II/509-510.

876 Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, II/496-498; Ibn 'Anba, *ʿUmdat al-Tālib*, 210; Marūf, *'Urūba al-Mansūbīn*, I/209.

877 Teresa Bernheimer, "The Rise of Sayyids and Sādāt: The Al Zubara and Other 'ʿAlids in Ninth- to Eleventh -Century Nīshābur", *Studia Islamica*, 100/101 (2005), 56.

878 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 264; In al-Najāshī, it is mentioned as *Kitāb al-Īzāh fi al-Masah ala al-Huffayn*. (See, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 424.)

879 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 264.

880 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 264; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 147; al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I/332.

881 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 424; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, II/173-174.

Important Places for Shiism

Imamzadah Mahrūq

The most important Shiʿi shrine in Nīshābur, whose influence continues to this day, is the mausoleum named "Imamzādah Mahrūq". It is accepted to belong to Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Zayd b. ʿAli.[882] Muhammad b. Muhammad came to the city after Abū al-Sarāyā's rebellion in 200/815 and was poisoned to death here. Although he is known as "Mahrūq (burnt)" by the people of the region, there is no information in the sources that he was burnt to death.[883] ʿAli al-Ridā's visit to this tomb during his journey to Khorasan and its reflection in early sources increased the importance of the tomb for Shiʿites.[884]

Other Important Shiʿi Personalities

Ishaq b. Ismāʿīl al-Nīshābūrī (3rd/9th century)

He was one of Hasan al-ʿAskarī's deputies in Nīshābur. It is narrated that Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī wrote a letter to Ishaq in which he reproached some members of the Imāmite community there for abandoning the sunnahs and obligatory rituals and advised

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[882] al-Hākim al-Nisābūrī, *Tārīkh al-Nīsābur*, 144.

[883] "Mahrūq" (burnt) instead of "Mahrūk (shed blood)", probably because the people of Nīshābur read the thin letter "he" as "ha". (See Dashtī, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Nīshābur*, 146.)

[884] The location of his grave is debatable. According to Ibn Funduq he died in Marw. (See, *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, I/306); However, Hakim al-Nīshabūri's work is older and therefore his narration is more reliable. (See *Tārīkh-e Nīshābur*, 144); Dashtī comes up with a theory to explain the visit of ʿAli al-Ridā to the grave of Imamzādah Mahrūq, who was known to have Zaydī beliefs, and states: "Abū al-Sarāyā had Zaydī beliefs, but he did not call for the caliphate in his own name. He used to say, "al-Ridā min Āl-Muhammad". He was succeeded by Muhammad Mahrūq. However, it is not far-fetched to think that the pioneers of this rebellion practiced taqiyya and hid their belief in Imam Ridā's imamate and their intellectual and spiritual connection with him so that if anything happened to them, Shiʿism would not suffer." (See *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Nīshābur*, 149); This tomb is still one of the most visited places in the city. In addition, Imam Ridā's Qadamgah and the Sultan's Baths from this period are also located in the city and attract visitors.

them on matters such as observing the sharī'ah rulings.[885] He was the liaison with Nīshābur during the Imām's lifetime.

Ibrāhim b. Abdah al-Nīshābūrī (alive 261/874)

From the companions of Ali al-Hādī[886] and one of Hasan al-ʿAskarī's deputies in Nīshābur. There is no exact information about his date of birth and death. However, it is known that he was originally from Nīshābur. He spent his youth in Nīshābur, then traveled to Iraq to study and later returned to Nīshābur. He had a high rank in the eyes of Hasan al-ʿAskarī. His shrine is in Nīshābur and is still known. In a letter Hasan al-ʿAskarī wrote to ʿAbdullah b. Hamdawayh al-Bayhaqī (d. 275/888): "I appointed Ibrāhim to receive the revenues in that land and considered him safe for the people." It is narrated that he appointed him as his deputy in Nīshābur and ordered others to obey him.[887] We could not find any information about his teachers and students.

Ali b. Muhammad b. Qutayba al-Nīshābūrī (3rd/9th century)

Al-Kashshī and many others consider him reliable. Ali b. Husayn al-Bābawayh and Ahmad b. Idris al-Qommī narrated from him. In this respect, he was one of the important narrators who carried the Shiʿite scholarly tradition among the Shiʿites of Qom and Nīshābur. Shaykh Sadūq's shaykhs, such as ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muhammad b. ʿAbdūs al-Attār al-Nīshābūrī and Sharafuddīn Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ziyādah, also narrated from him. He was one of Fadl b. Shādhān's and

[885] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 407-411; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 58; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/404-407.
[886] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 397; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, I/316.
[887] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 407-410; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/407.

his father's students and narrators.[888] Al-Tabarī included his narrations in *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*.[889]

Abū Mansūr Sarrām al-Nīshābūrī al-Khorasānī (d. ca. 370/980)

He was one of the leading scholars of the city. He is especially known for his important work *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*.[890] His other books include *al-Bayān fī al-Usūl, Ibtāl al-Qiyās, Ziyārat al-Ridā wa Fadlihi*[891] is present. Abū Hāzim al-Nīshābūrī read from him the book *al-Bayān al-Dīn*. From him, Shaykh Tūsī read most of this book during his youth in Khorasan. Sarrām agreed with the Mutazilites on the view of Wāid. He said that if a person who commits a great sin dies without repentance, he will not spend eternity in hell like the disbelievers.[892]

al-Fattāl al-Nīshābūrī (d. 513/1119?)

His real name was Muhammad b. Hasan b. ʿAli b. Ahmad, Abū ʿAli al-Nishābūrī, but he was known as al-Fattāl and Ibn al-Fārisī. He was an Imāmiyya theologian, jurist and commentator. He took lessons from various teachers, especially his father and Shaykh Tūsī. In his youth, he began to issue fatwas, express his views on theological issues, and gave lectures and sermons. Ibn Shahrāshūb was among his students.[893] His works include *Rawza al-Wāizīn*, *Basīra al-Mutaawwizīn* and *Kitāb al-Tanwīr fī Maʿānī al-Qurān*. He was killed in Nīshābur in 513/1119 and buried there. Ibn Shahrāshūb, who was also his student, counts his works *al-Tanwīr* and *Rawza al-Wāizīn* among his ha-

888 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 248-49; al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlāmi al-Shīʿa*, I/205.
889 Karīman, *Tabarsī*, II/88.
890 Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulemā*, 156.
891 al-Taḥranī, *al-Zarī'a*, XII/79.
892 Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, II/60-61.
893 Isfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlemā*, V/240.

dith narrations in his *Manāqib*. Al-Fatṭāl al-Nīshābūrī's contemporary ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, in *al-Naqd*, records that he was one of the well-known commentators of the sect and considers his tafsīr as one of the authoritative tafsīr.[894] The exact reason for his death is not known. Some say that he was killed by the ruler of Nīshābur, Abū al-Mahāsin Abdurrazzāq Sihāb al-Islām. However, there is no information about the cause and time. Abdurrazzāq was the vizier of Sultan Sanjar and the son of Nizām al-Mulk's brother.[895] He is referred to as a mutakallim, scholar, jalil, faqih, zahid.[896]

In addition to the above-mentioned individuals, Muhammad b. Saʿīd b. Qulsūm al-Marwazī (3rd/9th century), who was associated with Shiʿism and linked to Nīshābur,[897] Abū Muhammad al-Amrakī b. ʿAli al-Būfakī (3rd/9th century),[898] Muhammad b. Ismāʿīl Bandakī al-Nīshābūrī (d. ca. 300/912),[899] al-Husayn b.

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[894] 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 228.

[895] Adem Arıkan, *Büyük Selçuklular Döneminde Şia*, (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis), Istanbul University SBE, Istanbul 2010, 219.

[896] Shaykh Muntajabuddin mentions that there is a commentary on it but does not give its name (See *al-Fihrist*, 108); al- Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlāmi al-Shīʿa*, I/242.

[897] He was initially a Khārijite and later became a Shiʿite. (See al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 385.) He is among the companions of ʿAli al-Hādī. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 390.) Nasr ibn Sabbah says that he was one of the famous Shīʿite theologians of Nīshābur. (See Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/421; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, I/440.)

[898] He is attributed to Būfak, one of the villages of Nīshābur. al-Najāshī says of him, "He is one of our shaykhs." Abdullah b. Jaʿfar al-Khimyarī narrated from him. He has two books, *Kitāb al-Malāhim* and *Kitāb al-Nawādir* (See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī, 291*.) It is said that he bought a ghilman from Samarqand and sent him for Hasan al-ʿAskarī. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijal al-Tūsī*, 400.)

[899] He is one of the students of Fadl ibn Shādhān. He has many narrations from him. He is one of the well-known theologians of the early Imāmiyya period. He is also one of the narrators from whom al-Kulaynī received many narrations. He was also one of the people whom al-Kashshī used a lot in his *Rijāl*. (See al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 381-382; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, II/131-132.) Shaykh Tūsī shows him among the Imāms who do not have any narrations. (See, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 440.)

Ahmad al-Bayhaqī al-Hakīm (d. 335/946),[900] ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muhammad b. ʿAbdūs al-Attār al-Nīshābūrī (d. alive 352/963),[901] Jaʿfar b. Nuaym b. Shādhān al-Nīshābūrī (4th/10th century),[902] al-Muraʿī al-Tabarī (d. 358/968),[903] Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Yahyā al-Nīshābūrī (4th/10th century),[904] Hakīm al-Nīshābūrī (d. 404/1014),[905] Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-Bazzāz al-Nīshābūrī,[906] al-Hasan b. Abī Jaʿfar al-Nīshābūrī[907] and Abū Shuʿayb al-Nīshābūrī[908] named individuals are mentioned.

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[900] He is one of Shaykh Sadūq's shaykhs whose narrations are mentioned in many places in his works *al-Amālī* and *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*. (See al-Taḥranī, *Tabakātu Aʿlāmi al-Shīʿa*, I/105.) Shaykh Sadūq When he came to Nīshābur, he stayed in his house and received narrations from him. (See Ghaffari, "Muqaddima", 9-10.)

[901] Ibn Qutayba narrated from Fadl ibn Shādhān through al-Nīshāburi. Hamdan ibn Sulayman narrated from Abū Amr al- Laisi narrated from him. (See al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I/160.) Shaykh Sadūq narrated hadith from him when he was in Nīshābur in 352/963. (See Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/422-25.)

[902] Narrated by his uncle Muhammad ibn Shazan and Fadl ibn Shādhān. Shaykh Sadūq *Kamāl al-Dīn* also narrated from him. (See al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I /79.)

[903] al-Hasan ibn Hamza ibn al-Muraʿashī Abū Ahmad al-Husaynī al-Alawī al-Tabarī is one of the jurists of the Imāmiyya. He has works such as *Tabashir al-Shariah*, *al-Muftahar*, *al-Mabsut*, *al-Murshid*. (See Zirikli, *Aʿlam*, 2/203; Marūf, *ʿUrūbat al-Mansūbīn*, 194.)

[904] Al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Ismail al-Sukuni narrated from him. He is one of the Shaykhs from whom Shaykh Sadūq received hadith narrations. (See al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I/6.)

[905] It is mentioned that he was inclined to Shīʿa. (See Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, I/454.); There is a book called *Fadāil -e Fātima Zahra* that has survived to the present day. This book was first printed in Cairo by Intishārāt-e Dār al-Furkan in 1429/2008. The original copy of the book is registered in Tehran National Library 950 Hk 55. The book was edited and published in Tehran in 1389/2010 by Majid Aghahani and Seyyed Ali Alawi.

[906] Muhammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Yusuf al-Asamm and Shaykh Sadūq narrated from him in his book *Kamāl al-Dīn*. (See al- Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I/44, 315.)

[907] It is mentioned that he has a book called *al-Mukhtasar fi al-Usul*. (See Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 56.)

[908] His a book *al -Bidāya fi al-Hidāya* is mentioned. (See Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 154.)

Bayhaq

Bayhaq is one of the oldest Shiʿite settlements in Khorasan. The city was known for this characteristic in early geographical and historical works and was mentioned together with the city of Qom when Shiʿism was mentioned in Khorasan.

It is difficult to determine when and through which channels Shiʿism first entered Bayhaq. Shiʿite sources believe that Shiʿism was first brought to Bayhaq by Khānī and Shādān, ʿAli's slave Qanbar. They cite the presence of two masjids named Khānī and Shādān in Bayhaq as evidence for this.[909] However, there is no consistency in this view of the Shiʿite sources, which consider everyone around the ʿAli as Shiʿite.

The city first encountered Shiʿite movements during the revolt of Yahyā b. Zayd in 125/743 when it hosted this revolt for a short time.[910] The city's interest in the Alid increased after the rebellion and made it a preferred destination for migration to the region.

The first time we come across the name of the city of Bayhaq during the lifetime of the Imāms was during the period of Muhammad al-Jawād. Although it cannot be confirmed by other sources of the period, it is mentioned that Muhammad al-Jawād stayed in Bayhaq for a while in 232/846 on his way to the city of Tūs to visit the grave of his father ʿAli al-Ridā.[911]

Until al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, there is no person attributed to Bayhaq among the companions of the Imāms. In this context,

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[909] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 25.

[910] Some contemporary Shiʿite sources, influenced by the effort to limit the presence of the Imāmiyya in the city to the early periods, anachronistically try to argue that Yahyā ibn Zayd was actually from the Imāmiyya. (See Majīd Aflaqiyān-Mahdī Pīshvāyī, "'Avāmil-i Muassir-e Wurūd wa Gostarish-e Tashayyuʿ-e Imāmī dar Bayhaq (Sabzawār) az Āghāz tā Hamle-e Mongol", *Tārīkh dar Āyine-e Pajūhish*, 8/1 (1390/2011), 43-46.)

[911] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 46.

first of all, among the companions of Hasan al-ʿAskarī, Abdullah b. Hamdawayh al-Bayhaqī[912] as a name is attributed to the city. It is known that ʿAbdullah b. Hamdawayh served as the Imām's deputy in Bayhaq and that he was instructed to give the revenues he earned there to the deputy in Nīshābur, Ibrahim b. 'Abdah al-Nīshābūrī.[913] It is not known whether ʿAbdullah b. Hamdawayh resided in Bayhaq or Nīshābūr, but the proximity of Nīshābūr and Bayhaq to each other suggests that a group of Imāmi's may have lived there as well. The fact that Fadl b. Shādhān, a Shiʿite-Imāmite scholar from Nīshābūr, settled in Bayhaq in the same period after he was exiled from the city by the ruler of the time, ʿAbdullah b. Tāhir, strengthens this interpretation. In 260/873, as a result of the Khārijītes attack on Bayhaq, Fadl tried to flee and return to Nīshābur, but he died on the way.[914] This shows that, in addition to the convenience of its proximity to Nīshābur, Bayhaq had become a safe haven for the Imāmites in Nīshābur.

Alid Migration

From the 3rd/9th century onwards, we see that the city was among the places where people belonging to the Ali lineage migrated. These people migrated from Hijaz and Iraq to the big cities in the East, especially Tabaristan. In this context, relatively small settlements such as Bayhaq were not among the main migration routes, and the migration to this city was mostly through Nīshābur, Jurjān, Ray and Qom.[915] However, despite being one of the secondary migration centers, the city faced an

[912] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 400.
[913] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 410-411.
[914] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 384.
[915] Sayyidwaqīlī, *Barrasī Coghrafya-ye Gostarish-i Tashayyuʿ*, 44; Heyet, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ*, II/237-239.

intense migration of the Ali lineage, especially from the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries with the support of the people.

According to the sources, the first person from the Ali lineage to migrate here was Sayyid al-Zāhid Abū al-Zāhid Abū al-Hasan Muhammad b. Abī Mansur Zafar b. Muhammad b. Ahmad Zubāre, nicknamed "Pilāspūsh" in the 4th/10th century.[916] As mentioned earlier, the Zubāre family was the most prominent Alid family in Nīshābur. The migration of some members of this family from Nīshābur to Bayhaq in the 4th/10th century was motivated by a dispute with another Shāfi'ī-patronized family over the post of naqīp.[917] After the migration of Abū al-Hasan Muhammad, most of the Zubāra family continued to migrate to Bayhaq throughout the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. After the migration of this family to the city, Bayhaq became a destination for many more Alids, especially from Tabaristan and neighboring cities, who were not in good terms with the administration.[918] It is also said that many members of this family, as well as Uraydiyān, Barwaqn, and Ḥasanid Sādāt, were

[916] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 54.

[917] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 56.

[918] Ibn Funduq gives the names of the following people from the Zubāra family who are known to have settled in Bayhaq: Sayyid Abū Mansur Zafer ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad Zubāra Alawi, Sayyid Abū al-Hasan Muhammad ibn Zafar ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad Zubāra Alawi, Sayyid Abū ʿAli Ahmad ibn Abū al-Hasan Muhammad ibn Zafar ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad Zubāra Alawi, Sayyid Abū Said Zayd ibn Muhammad ibn Zafar ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad Zubāra Alawi, Sayyid Abū Saʿīd Zayd ibn Muhammad ibn Zafar ibn Muhammad ibn Zafar ibn Alawi, Sayyid Abū Ibrahim Jaʿfar ibn Muhammad ibn Zafar ibn Alawi, Sayyid Rais Abū Yaʿla Zayd ibn Sayyid ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Yahyā Alawi Husaynī Zubāra, Seyyid Abū al-Hasan ʿAli ibn Ahmad ibn Zafar Alawī Husaynī Zubāra, Sayyed Abū al-Hasan Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Zafar Alawi, Sayyed Abū ʿAli Ahmad ibn ʿAli ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Zafar, Bahauddin Muhammad ibn ʿAli Zubāra and Sayyed Alem al-Hudā Abū Saʿīd Zayd Mashdanī. (See Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 57 ff.)

buried in Bayhaq and neighboring towns, and their graves are known to the people of the city.[919]

In addition to influencing the religious-social fabric of the city, the Alids who settled in the city were also taken into consideration politically. For example, Abū al-Qāsim ʿAli, a member of the Zubāra family, frequently visited the court of Mahmud of Ghazni and negotiated for peace in the region. In addition, during the period of the conquest after the death of Sultan Malik Shah, Fakhruddin Abū al-Qāsim, the son of Abū Yaʿlā Zayd of the Zubāra family, undertook the task of protecting the people of this region from the marauders.[920]

We believe that the Zubāra family had become Shiʿite by the 4th/10th century. The famous Shiʿite scholar Abū ʿAli al-Tabarsī, who was also related to this family, came to Bayhaq in 523/1128 and resided there. al-Tabarsī taught in a madrasa and trained many students until his death in Bayhaq in 548/1153. He gave his books *Majmaʿ al-Bayān* and *Jawāhir al-Jumal* as a gift to Abū Mansur Muhammad b. Yahyā b. Hibatullah Husaynī, who was the Naqīb al-Sādāt at the time.[921] Among the students he trained were famous names such as his own son Abū Nasr Hasan, Muntajabuddin Abū al-Hasan Bābawayh, Ziyāuddin Fadlullah al-Rāwandī and Qutbuddin al-Rāwandī.[922] It is also mentioned that Ibn Shahrāshūb, a famous Imāmi scholar, took lessons from al-Tabarsī while he was in Bayhaq.[923]

From the 5th/11th century onwards, the Shiʿite identity of the city became more prominent and the city is mentioned in

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[919] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 284-285.
[920] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 58.
[921] Heyet, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ*, II/241-242; According to Karīman, it was written at the request of the naqib. (See, *Tabarsī*, II/23.)
[922] Karīman, *Tabarsī*, 24.
[923] Ahmad Pāketchī, 'Ibn Shahrāshūb', *Dāyiraat al-ma'ārif al-Bozorg al-Islamī*, Tehran 1380/2001, 4/90-92.

the sources with this characteristic. Abd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī states that the city has been accused of blasphemy (mulhid) by some malicious people and rejects this claim, saying: "As for Sabzawar (Bayhaq), it is a Shiʿite and town of Islam. It is adorned with madrasas and masjids. Its curse on the malāhidīn and its hostility to the batinīs is evident. Lectures, debates and Qur'anic readings are held there."[924] In another narration, we see that Sultan Alpaslan accused the people of Sabzawar of "rafd" and they denied it. Then Alpaslan said, *"If you are telling the truth, bring me a man from your province named Abū Bakr (in the narration about the city of Qom, the name ʿUmar is mentioned) and I will believe you. So they brought a weak, powerless, strange and persecuted man to the sultan. When the sultan asked, "Who is this man who looks like neither the living nor the dead?"* they replied, *"Forgive us, sultan, there is no one better than Abū Bakr in our province."*[925]

Important Places for Shiʿism

Shrine of Imāmzadah Yahyā

The inscription on the door states that this shrine belongs to Yahyā b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar. The same opinion is widespread among the people. However, considering the fact that Mūsā al-Kāzim did not have a son with this name, it is thought that the mausoleum probably belonged to Yahyā b. Arabshah, who was the vizier of Ḥāja ʿAli Muayyad al-Sarbadārī in the 8th/14th century.[926]

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924 ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 217.

925 Isfizārī, *Rawdāt al-Jannāt*, 277; In the same story, there is also a narration in which the name Khwarezmshah is used instead of Alpaslan. (Cf. Schimmel, "The Ornament of the Saints", 105.)

926 Sayyed Hassan Amin, "Imāmzādah Yahyā al-Sabzawārī", *Iranshināsī*, 14/54 (Maryland 1381/2002), 338; According to a different view, this grave belongs to Imad al-Dīn Yahyā, son of Abū Mansur Hibetullah, grandson of Abū al-Mahasin al-Husayn, who died in 532/1137. (See Ahmadī, Muhammad Ibrahim, *Sīmā-ye Sabzawar*, Intishārāt-ı Nubugh, Qom 1375/1996, 39.

Shrine of Shahzadah Shuʿayb

It is not known exactly when the shrine attributed to Shuʿayb b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar was built.[927]

Shrine of Shahzādah Husayn-e Asghar

The shrine belongs to a descendant of ʿAli b. Husayn Zayn al-Ābidin and is a very popular place of pilgrimage today.[928]

Madrasahs

The oldest madrasa in the city is *Madrasa al-Fahriya*, which was established in the 4th/10th century during the reign of Muizzuddawla (320/932-356/966) for Fakhruddawla (366/976-387/997) by his order.[929] It is highly probable that this madrasa, which is mentioned in *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq* having been founded by Abū al-Qāsim ʿAli in the 4th/10th century for the Hanafīs, Shāfi'īs, and Karrāmīs, as well as for the Sadāt and their followers, the Mutazilites and the Zaydis, but not named, is *Madrasa al-Fahriyah*.[930] This madrasa still exists, albeit in ruins.

Sources agree that the city was a place that reflected the Imāmi identity in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries and was integrated with this characteristic.[931]

Jurjān

According to al-Maqdisī's statements, in the 4th/10th century, the majority in the city was composed of Hanafīs and

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[927] There is no son of Mūsā al-Kāzim with this name in the sources. (See Ahmadī, *Sīmā-ye Sabzawar*, 40.)

[928] Ahmadī, *Sīmā-ye Sabzawar*, 42.

[929] Mahmud Anberānī, 'Bināhā-ye Tārihī wa Mezhebī-ye Shahr-i Sabzawār', *Mashkūt*, 21 (Mashhad 1367/1988), 206-207.

[930] Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-e Bayhaq*, 194; Ümit, "Hazar Zaydîleri ve Mutezilîler", 250.

[931] Hāfız-e Abrū, *Coghrafya-ye Tārīkh-e Khorasan*, 50; Qazwīnī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 150; Le Strange, *The Lands of the East Caliphate*, 391; Barthold, "Horasan", 73.

their branch, the Najjārīs. They were followed by the Hanbalites and Shafi'is and the Karrāmites. Although Shiʿites do not constitute the majority in the city, they have a significant population.[932] It was only after the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries that the Shiʿites gained a majority.

When it comes to Shiʿism, we see that Zaydī, Ismaʿilī and Imāmite groups were active in the city. It is possible to trace the first manifestations of Shiʿism in Jurjān to the period of the Abbasid invitation.[933] Bukayr b. al-Māhān, one of the important figures of the Abbasid call, sent three people to Jurjān during his efforts to establish connections with Khorasan: Abū Ubayd Qays b. al-Sarī, Isma'īl Abū ʿAmr, and Yazīd b. al-Nahīd.[934] As a result of these contacts, when the daʿwah movement against the Umayyads was revealed, many people from Jurjān supported them unconditionally, and women sacrificed their gold and jewelry for this cause.[935] As can be seen, this support of the people of Jurjān for the Abbasid movement was a support for the Hāshimids because they acted on behalf of the Prophet's family and promised justice. As a matter of fact, there is evidence that this support was shifting towards the ʿAli's lineage in the following years. For example, in 169/785, during the preparations for the rebellion of Husayn b. ʿAli, also known as the "Fahh Rebellion", a group from Jurjān visited Husayn b. ʿAli and asked him for permission to revolt.[936]

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[932] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 275.

[933] While mentioning the mosques built in the city during the Umayyad period, al-Sahmī, who has the oldest city chronicle of the city of Jurjān, reported the existence of a mosque belonging to the Shīʿites called Masjid al-Abd al-Qays in the place known as Kahtabīn, we do not have any other information to confirm this. (See al-Sahmī, *Tārīkhu Jurjān*, 17.)

[934] *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya*, 199.

[935] *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Abbāsiyya*, 223-224.

[936] Numan ibn Muhammad Maghribī Ibn Hayyūn, *Sharḥ al-Akhbār fī Fadāil al-Imām al-Athār alayhim al-Salām*, thk. Muhammad Husayn Husayni Jalālī, Jāmia-e Mu-

In the first two centuries of the Hegira, we can trace the Imāmite groups through the companions of the imāms associated with this city. Abdulhamīd al-Jurjānī is attributed to the city of Jurjān and is among the companions of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq,[937] Saʿīd b. Saʿīd al-Jurjānī,[938] Muhammad b. Mansur al-Jurjānī[939] and Ishaq Abū Harun al-Jurjānī[940] it is seen that's name is mentioned.

The connection between the city and the imāms seems to have been severed until ʿAli al-Hādī. Among the companions of ʿAli al-Hādī was Abū Yahyā al-Jurjānī,[941] Fath b. Yazīd al-Jurjānī[942] counted.

Although there is a narration in many Shiʿite sources that Hasan al-ʿAskarī came to Jurjān and led the prayer there, this should be considered as a product of manākib (hagiographic) literature.[943] However, we can detect the existence of economic contacts between the Imām and the people of Jurjān during the period of Hasan al-ʿAskarī. In this regard, Jaʿfar b. Sharif al-Jurjānī relates the following narration:

> "One year I went on pilgrimage, and there I reached Hasan al-ʿAskarī and my friends gave me some wealth and I wanted to ask him to whom I should give it. I said, 'O son of the Messenger of Allah, Ibrahim b. Ismāʿīl al-Jurjānī is one of your Shīʿah (followers) and one who treats your friends with kindness. Every year he gives more than one hundred thousand dirhams of his wealth to your friends and he is one who has enjoyed the bless-

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darrisin, Qom 1409/1988, III/327.

[937] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 186; His name is not found in other early biographical sources. (See Khūyī, *Muʿjam Rijāl al-Hadith,* IX/281.)

[938] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 214.

[939] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 294.

[940] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 162.

[941] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 394.

[942] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 434; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 390.

[943] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manākib Āli Abī Tālib*, IV/192; al-Irbilî, *Kashf al-Ghumma fi Maʿrifat al-Aimme*, II/427; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/100-101.

> ings of Allah in Jurjān. Hadrat Hasan al-ʿAskarī said, 'May Allah keep the good deeds of Abū Ishaq Ibrahim b. Ismāʿīl al-Jurjānī from our Shīʿah and forgive his sins and give him a son who speaks the truth. Tell him that Hasan b. ʿAli has asked you to name your son Ahmad."[944]

According to a narration attributed to Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, when Abū Basīr asked Jaʿfar al-Sādiq whether the ʿAli knew the companions of the Qāim (Mahdī) and their number, he replied that he knew them by name, down to their tribes and the names of their fathers. He also said that they were known by the other Imāms after him up to him, and that they were written in the heart and preserved in a way that could not be forgotten. When I asked him if he could tell me their tribes and their names, he said, "Then write them down. The companions of the Mahdi until ʿAli; One from East Tārband, two from Sāmaghan, one from Farghana, two from Tirmiz, four from Daylam, two from Marwarūz, twelve from Marw, nine from Beirut, five from Tūs, two from Fāryāb, and three from Sijistān, twenty-four from Tāleqan, eight from Ghur, eighteen from Nīshābur, twelve from Herāt, four from Būsjān, seven from Ray, nine from Tabaristan, eighteen from Qom, two from Qūmis, twelve from Jurjān, and three from Raqqa.[945]

This narration shows that for the Imāmiyya, Jurjān had an important place among other cities with 12 people. The names of the people mentioned in Jurjān are: Ahmad b. Harun b. ʿAbdullah, Zurāra b. Jaʿfar, Husayn b. ʿAli b. Matar, Hamid b. Nafi, Muhammad b. Khālid b. Qarra b. Hawiyya, Allan ibn Hamid b. Jaʿfar b. Hamid, Ibrahim b. Ishaq b. 'Amr, ʿAli b. Alqamah b. Mahmud, Salman b. Ya'qub, Uryan b. al-Khaffān, Shaʿba b. ʿA-

[944] al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, L/262-64.
[945] Ibn Rustam al-Tabarī, *Dalā'il al-Imāma*, 555-556.

li, Mūsā b. Qardawayh.[946] However, a careful examination of these names reveals that they are all unknown or obscure personalities, none of whom can be verified even by Shiʿite sources.

With the establishment of the Zaydī state centered in Tabaristan in the mid-3rd/9th century, we see that the region naturally came under the influence of Zaydism. When we move east and west from the two Zaydī centers of Tabaristan, Sāri and Āmul, we see that the Shiʿite influence decreased and Sunnīte signs increased. In this context, the fact that the city of Jurjān was the eastern gateway of Taberistān to Khorasan made it one of the main contact centers from where Zaydī daʿīs carried out their activities and spread north and south. Therefore, although there was a significant Zaydī dominance in the city, there were also some who had relations with the Imāmite groups. At that time, the Zaydis were called "Ashāb al-Sayf" and the Imāmites were called "Ashāb al-Aimmah".[947]

What kind of relations existed between the Zaydis and the Imāmites and early Ismāʿīlīs in the region during this period needs to be analyzed. There is a report that Hasan b. Zayd, the Imām of the Zaydis of Tabaristan, persecuted a group of Hasan al-ʿAskarī's followers and that two of them, Abū Yaʿqūb Yusuf b. Muhammad b. Ziyād and Abū al-Hasan ʿAli b. Muhammad b. Sayyār, had to flee to Iraq to join the Imām.[948]

In the 4th/10th century, with the rise to power of the Buwayhids, the positive atmosphere in favor of the Shiʿites led to the emergence of people who had been hidden until then. The

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[946] Ibn Rustam al- Tabarī, *Dalā'il al-Imāma*, 569.

[947] Rasul Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Jurjān wa Astarābād,* Mashhad 1383/2004, 17.

[948] al-Hasan al-'Askarī, *al-Tafsīru al-Mansūb ilā al-Hasan al-'Askarī Alaihissalâm*, thk. Madrasa-i Imām Mahdī, Qom 1409/1988, 9-10.

"Feast of Ghadir al-Hum" and other events initiated in Baghdād also had an impact in Jurjān.

The activities of the Imāmiyya in the city were mostly through hadith narrations about the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, a muhaddith named Abū Ahmad ʿAbdullah b. ʿAdiyy narrated hadiths about the virtues of the ʿAli in Jurjān, which are said to have contributed to the spread of Shiʿism there.[949] We can say that the most influential person was Abū Saʿīd Masʿūd b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Hasan al-Jurjānī, who lived in the 5th/11th century. It is seen that al-Haskānī, who collected the narrations about the virtues of ʿAli, made use of Abū Saʿīd's narrations in his work *Shawāḥid al-Tanzil*.[950]

The 5th/11th century was a period in which Shiʿi jurisprudence matured and produced new works and powerful writers of its own. The most important Shiʿi scholar of the period was Shaykh Mufīd, who lived in Baghdād. In this period, we observe that Shiʿites in Jurjān and neighboring regions sent their fiqh questions to Baghdād. In this context, it is mentioned that Shaykh Mufīd wrote a book titled *Jawāb al-Ahli Jurjān fī Tahrīmi al-Fukkā'*.[951] We see that such letters continued with Sharif al-Murtazā. Sharif al-Murtazā›s book *al-Masā'il al-Jurjāniyya* is available.[952] In these books, the Shiʿites of the region state that they had the fiqh books of their sect, but that they wrote letters to ask for a clearer fatwa on certain issues.

We observe that Ismāʿīlīs were active in the city especially in the 4th/10th century. The city was one of the centers of Ismāʿīli propaganda during the reign of the Ziyārī ruler Qābus

[949] Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Jurjān wa Astarābād,* 18.
[950] Hasqānī, *Shawāḥid al-Ṭanzīl*, I/67, 488, II/27, 31, 47, 66, 77, 306.
[951] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 385.
[952] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 165; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulemā*, 87.

b. Washmgīr (d. 403/1012). Around 381/991, Ahmad b. al-Hasan al-Hamdānī, who became famous as Badiuzzānī, arrived in Jurjān and the Ismāʿīli sect entered the city. It is known that Ibn ʿAbdak al-Jurjānī and Ibn al-Hasan Zakariyya al-Jurjānī wrote books against the Ismāʿīlīs in the region.[953] In the 4th/10th century, Abū al-Haytham Ahmad b. Ḥasan al-Jurjānī, who lived in Jurjān, wrote a work called *Qasīdah*, in which he discussed various philosophical and theological issues and answered questions, indicating that the Ismāʿīlis were engaged in scholarly activities in the city. According to Daftary's information, the work consists of the interpretation of 82 verses in which Ismāʿīlite thought is discussed.[954]

Alid Migration

According to the record in al-Sahmī, Muhammad al-Dībāj (d. 203/818), the son of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, was the first of the Alid to migrate to Jurjān and Astarābād. al-Sahmī reports that his descendants were still in the city in the 5th/12th century.[955]

We observe that the migration of Alid to Jurjān intensified through his descendants, especially after the revolt of Muhammad Nafs al-Zakiyya. Ibn Tabātabā records the names of five known descendants of Muhammad b. ʿAbdullah Nafs al-Zakiyya, twelve descendants of the Hasanid, their children, and three descendants of the Husaynid. He also informs us that the descendants of Abbas b. ʿAli b. Abī Tālib and ʿUmar b. ʿAli b.

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[953] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 366.

[954] Farhad Daftary, *Ismāʿīlī Literature: A Bibliography of Sources and Studies*, London 2004, 106; The work was probably attributed to Muhammad ibn Sorkh, who lived in Khorasan in the same century. A commentary was written by Nīshāburi. This work is in our possession. Muhammad ibn Sorkh al-Nīshābūrī, *Sharh al-Qasīda al-Fārsī Hāja Abū al-Haytham Ahmad ibn Hasan Jurjānī*, thk. Henry Corbin-Muhammad Muîn, Tehran 1334/1955.

[955] al-Sahmī, *Tārīkhu Jurjān*, 317-329.

Abī Tālib, who were not Hasanids or Husaynids, also resided in Jurjān.[956] It is understood from the information here that the Alid migrations to Jurjān were not limited to Hasan or Husayn, and that the city also welcomed the descendants of other Alid.

In Jurjān as far as is known, there are the shrines of Muhammad b. Zayd (d. 287/900), the brother of Hasan b. Zayd, the founder of the Zaydite State of Tabaristān, Hasan al-Aqīqī b. Muhammad b. Husayn Asghar b. Ali b. Husayn and Muhammad b. Jaʿfar b. Husayn b. Ali b. Muhammad b. Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, who was also the son of Hasan b. Zayd's uncle and claimed imāmate.[957]

Important Places for Shiʿism

Gūr-e Sorkh (Red Shrine)

The shrine of Muhammad al-Dībāj b. Jaʿfar al-Sādiq is one of the earliest signs of Shiʿism in the city. Muhammad al-Dībāj proclaimed his caliphate in the Hijaz region after Abū al-Sarāyā was killed in an unsuccessful rebellion in 200/815, then accepted the offer of emancipation sent by al-Ma'mun and came to Marw. After staying in Khorasan for a while, he traveled with al-Ma'mun on his return to Baghdād and died in Jurjān in 203/818.[958] According to al-Qazwīnī, one of ʿAli al-Ridā's sons is buried in Gūr-e Sorkh. He mentions that he had a shrine and that it was believed that the people would receive all their needs through this shrine. He adds that goods and belongings were carried to this shrine and spent on the needs of the Alid.[959] Contrary to al-Qazwīnī's claim, the shrine's attribution to Muhammad al-

[956] Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 111-118.
[957] Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Jurjān wa Astarābād*, 32.
[958] Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 323; al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 79; al-Sahmī, *Tārīkhu Jurjān*, 317-329; Various hadiths narrated through Muhammad ibn Jaʿfar are narrated here.
[959] al-Qazwīnī, *Āsār al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-ʿIbād*, 414.

Dībāj is undisputed.[960] The shrine here was built and expanded in 374/984 by the Buwayhid vizier Ṣāhib b. ʿAbbād.[961] Since then, his shrine has become a very popular place of pilgrimage. After his burial, at least 40 other Alid descendants were buried here and it became a center of pilgrimage and is still one of the most important places of pilgrimage in the region.[962]

Important Shiʿi Personalities

Abū Yahyā (Ahmad b. Dāwud) Jurjānī (alive before 254/868)

It is mentioned that Ahmad b. Dāwūd was one of the companions of ʿAli al-Hādī.[963] At first, he was an important member of the Ashāb al-Hadīth, but later he became a Shiʿite. According to Muhammad b. Ismail al-Nīshābūrī, some Sunnite scholars made provocations against him. According to the narration, one of the hadith narrators in the city narrated a hadith about the Caliph ʿUmar. Abū Yahyā said that the person mentioned in the hadith was not ʿUmar b. Khattab but ʿUmar b. Shāqir. The ruler of the time, Muhammad b. Tāhir, ordered him to be hanged with his tongue, hands and feet cut off, but he was saved when a muhaddith named Muslim testified in his favor and the slanderer Muhammad b. Yahyā al-Rāzī could not prove it.[964] In his narration from al-Kashshī, Abdullah Fayyaz cites the years of Abū Yahyā's torture at the hands of Muhammad b. Tāhir as the

[960] Le Strange, *The Lands of the East Caliphate*, 378.

[961] Qommī emphasizes that this place was a place of pilgrimage in the century in which he lived. (See *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 323.)

[962] There are at least three more shrines in Khorasan attributed to Muhammad al-Dibaj. The first is next to the shrine of Bayazīd al-Bistami, the second is in Damaghan, and the third is in the region known as Akimām near Jurjān. (See Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Jurjān wa Astarābād*, 31.)

[963] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 394.

[964] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 377; Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 80-81; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 417.

time when Shiʿism emerged in Khorasan.[965] Many books are attributed to Abū Yahyā. Among them are *Kitāb al-Khilaf ʿUmar bi-Rivāyat al-Hashwiyya*; *Kitāb al-Mihnah al-Nāibe*, *Kitāb al-Mafākhirat al-Bakriyya wa al-ʿUmariyya*, in which he describes the characteristics of the Hashawī sects; *Kitāb al-Radd al-Akhbār al-Kāziba, Kitāb al-Munāzarat al-Shīʿi wa al-Murjī fi al-Masahiʿalā al-Huffayn* wa *Akala al-Jarī wa Ghayru Zālik*, *al-Ghawgha-i min Asnaf al-Umma min al-Murjiah wa al-Qadariyya wa al-Khawārij, Al-Mutʿa wa al-Rijʿatu wa al-Masah alā al-Huffayn wa Talaku al-Mutʿa, Kitāb al-Taswiya,*[966] *Kitāb al-Sihākī (الصهاكي), Kitāb al-Fazāyih al-Hashwiyya, Kitāb al-Tafwīz, Kitāb al-Awāil, Kitāb Talaq al-Majnūn, Kitāb Istinbāt al-Hashwiyya, Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Hanbalī, Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Sajarī, Kitāb fī Nikāhi al-Sukarān*[967] counted.

al-Fath b. Yazīd, Abū Abdullah al-Jurjānī (3rd/9th century)

Al-Barqī lists him among the companions of ʿAli al-Hādī.[968] Shaykh Tūsī mentions his name among those who have no narrations from any of the Imāms.[969] He is also mentioned in some books of Rijāl as the author of works, but his works are not named.[970] Al-Kashshī mentions him when talking about Muhammad b. Saʿīd Qulsūm al-Marwazī.[971] He wrote a book titled *al-Masā'il li-Abī al-Hasan ʿAlaihissalam*.[972] The quotations

[965] Abdullah Fayyaz, *Paydāyish wa Gostarish-e Tashayyuʿ*, tr. Seyyed Jawād Hātemī, Ibn Yemīn Neshriyāt, Sebzawar 1382/2003, 92.

[966] Ibn Jurayh's mistake in prohibiting marriage between Arabs and mawālī.

[967] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 40.

[968] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 60.

[969] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 436.

[970] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 201; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 108.

[971] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 385.

[972] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 299; It is controversial to whom the epithet Ebi'l-Hasan belongs. With this epithet, 3 Imāms are mentioned, Mūsā al-Kāzim, ʻʿAli al-Ridā and ʿAli al-Hādī. However, Shaykh Sadūq's work, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, also quotes from him strengthens the fact that Abī al-Hasan is ʿAli al-Ridā.

that we presume were taken from this book, which has not survived, are found in Shaykh Sadūq's *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Riḍā'*.[973] Shaykh Sadūq narrates his narrations on fasting and marriage.

Muhammad b. Qāsim al-Mufassir al-Astarābādī (d. 260/873)

It is claimed that one of the earliest surviving Shiʿite tafsīr books belongs to him. It is said that Hasan al-ʿAskarī had a part of this commentary edited. It is stated that his Tafsīr carries Muʿtazilite ideas in terms of belief (theology) and is Imāmite in fiqh.[974] However, even in Shiʿite circles, the attribution of the work to Hasan al-ʿAskarī is disputed. While there are those who accept this claim, there are also those who claim that Muhammad b. Qāsim was a liar and even an unknown person. According to Habibov, this work, even if it belongs to Hasan al-ʿAskarī, has been considerably distorted in later periods.[975] It seems that Shaykh Sadūq is directly narrating from him, but this seems unlikely, as there is a gap of about a hundred years between them.[976]

Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. ʿAli, al-Jurjānī al-Abdakī (d. after 360/970)

Abū Jaʿfar is considered a jurist, a poet, and one of the most important thinkers of the Imāmiyya. al-Samʿanī characterizes him as a prominent Shīʿa scholar and the imam of the Ahl al-Tashayyūʿ in Jurjān. He learned from Imrān b. Mūsā b. Mujāshiʿ al-Jurjānī and his peers. He lived in Nīshābur for a while. Hākim al-Nishābūrī (d.405/1014) narrated from him and characterized him

[973] Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/523.
[974] Bahsaishī, *Tabaqāt-e Mufassirān-e Shīʿa*, 298-300.
[975] Habibov, *İlk Dönem Şiî Tefsir Anlayışı*, 52-57.
[976] Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/524, 545-55, 560, 569.

as having a perfect intellect and a good eye.[977] According to the information given by al-Najāshī, he wrote a ten-part work entitled *Kitāb al-Tafsīr*. However, the work has not survived to the present day. His other works include *Matāliʿ al-Hidāya*, *al-Radd alā al-Ismāʿiliyya*, *al-Kalām alā al-Firqat al-Musbata li-ruʾyatillāh Taʿāla*.[978]

Balkh

The city of Balkh has been one of the most important centers of scientific, literary and cultural life in Khorasan since the first centuries of Islam. The city played a major role in the transmission of Islamic civilization to future generations with the scholars and artists it raised.

The first contact of the city of Balkh with the Imāmite circles was during the period of ʿAli b. Husayn Zayn al-Ābidīn, who was regarded as the fourth Imām. According to a narration in *Bihār al-Anwār*, a man from the elite of the city of Balkh visited Zayn al-Ābidīn in Medina during his pilgrimage, presented him with various gifts, asked him questions about religious matters, and returned to his hometown.[979] In order to trace the Shiʿite presence in the city to the early period, contemporary Shiʿite sources consider Dahhāq b. Muzāhim al-Balkhī (d. 105/723), whom they mention as Zayn al-Ābidīn's narrator, as one of the first clear signs of Shiʿism.[980] However, we do not have any information about Dahhāq's Shiʿite identity in other sources of the period to confirm this.

There is a narration that Muhammad al-Bāqir gave infor-

[977] al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, VIII/350.

[978] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 366; Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 282-283; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 159; al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlāmi al-Shīʿa*, I/290; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, II/154-155.

[979] al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, XLVI/47-48.

[980] ʿAbd al-Majīd Nāṣirī Dāwūdī, *Tashayyuʿ dar Khorasan: Ahd-e Tamuriyān*, Mashhad 1378/1999, 169.

mation about the Dajjāl to a person from Balkh.[981] By the time of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, we see that 3 people, including ʿUmar b. Harun b. Yazīd al-Balkhī al-Saqafī,[982] Abū Hafs Salm b. Sālim al-Balkhī,[983] Ziyād b. Sulayman al-Balkhī, who was attributed to Balkh, are listed as his companions. However, these people are unknown or unimportant.

We can trace the city of Balkh's acquaintance with Shiʿite ideas to Zayd b. Ali's rebellion in 122/740. We know that during this rebellion, Zayd sent two dāʿīs to the cities of Khorasan for the purpose of gathering supporters and propaganda. The fact that his son Yahyā b. Zayd, who rebelled after him in 125/743, chose Balkh and its vicinity for his rebellion shows that he was probably aware of this favoritism towards the Hāshemites and that the city had the potential to support such a movement. As a matter of fact, Yahyā was killed and buried in Jowzjān, one of the districts of Balkh, in 125/743 after his short-lived rebellion.

During the time Yahyā b. Zayd lived here, the city of Balkh was associated with *Sahīfa al-Sajjādiyyah*, an important text in Shiʿite prayer literature. According to the narration, Yahyā gave the *Sahīfa al-Sajjādiyya,* which was passed down from Ali b. Husayn to his son Zayd and from Zayd to himself, to a man from Balkh named al-Mutawakkil b. Harun and asked him to deliver this text to Jaʿfar al-Sādiq. Al-Mutawakkil delivered this text to his son ʿUmayr. ʿUmayr,[984] when he told Jaʿfar that he had such a work, he said, "I swear to Allah, this is the writing of my uncle Zayd and my grandfather ʿAli b. Husayn" and re-

[981] al-Saffār Qommī, *al-Basāir al-Darajāt,* 141; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, XXVI/189.
[982] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 266; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 254.
[983] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 219.
[984] In some sources, it is stated that Mutawakkil ibn ʿUmayr ibn Mutawakkil narrated this work and his nickname was Ibn Nur. It is mentioned that they are from the Family of Muhammad. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 253); Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 141.

ceived it.[985] Since its narrators were unknown, the prayer book, *Sahīfa al-Sajjādiyya*, was considered unsound and disregarded by early Imāmite writers. It was the Safawid-era author al-Majlisī who brought this work to light and made it valuable.

It is mentioned that Mūsā al-Kāzim had two companions named Saʿd b. Saʿīd al-Balkhī[986] and Ziyad b. Sulayman al-Balkhī[987] who is attributed to in Balkh. In addition, Shiʿite sources, based on a legend between Shaqīq al-Balkhī (d. 194/810), one of the influential figures of early Sufism, and Mūsā al-Kāzim, state that he had Shiʿite tendencies and was killed in Transoxania for these views.[988] This connection between Mūsā al-Kāzim and Shaqīq al-Balkhī can be seen as one of the examples of Shīʿa's attempt to construct history backwards in later centuries.

During the period of Ali al-Ridā the names of his narrators are recorded to city of Balkh, Muhammad b. Khālid al-Balkhī[989] and Muqātil b. Muqātil al-Balkhī.[990] However, in some narrations[991] during his journey from Medina to Khorasan, some other people from Balkh are mentioned who were with him and

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[985] ʿAli b. Husayn Zayn al-'Abidin, *Sahīfat al-Sajjādiyya*, Qom 1376/1997, 12; al-Rāzī, *Kifāyat al-Asar*, 307-309. Here the person's identifier is not al-Balkhī but al-Bajalī. Shaykh Abbas Qommī, *Muntahiyah al-Aʿmāl*, 10th edition, Intishārāt al-Hijrah, Qom 1376/1997, II/119-122; In the Najaf edition of the work, in the same narration, Yahyā, "I entrust this work to you so that you can deliver it to my cousins, Muhammad and Ibrahim. Because after me, they will take my place and rise up against the Umayyads." (Cf. Fayyaz, *Paydāyish wa Gosterish-e Tashayyuʿ*, 85)

[986] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 338.

[987] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 337.

[988] For a study on the criticism of the Mūsā al-Kāzim legend in Shīʿite sources and the evaluation of the sources, see Hamid Algar, "Imām Mūsā Kāẓim and Akhbār-e Ahl al-Tasawwuf", tr. Azarmīduht Mashāyih Farīdunī, *Maārif*, 29-30 (1372/1993), 43-48.

[989] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 364.

[990] al-Najāshī, attributes a book to him, but he does not mention his name. (See, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 406.)

[991] al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, XLIX/101 and X/318.

asked him questions. Biographical sources also mention a companion of Ali al-Hādī named Muhammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Balkhī.[992]

Until the 4th/10th century, the city of Balkh played a role in the development of the Imāmiyya through its hadith narrators. During his visits to the cities of Khorasan, Shaykh Sadūq visited Balkh in 368/978 and stayed there for a while, narrating hadīth from many people.[993] During this visit, a scholar from Balkh, Sharafuddīn Abū Abdullah Muhammad Niʿmat, told Shaykh Sadūq that Muhammad b. Zakariya al-Rāzī (d. 364/974)'s *Man Lā Yahduruh al-Tabīb* and advised him to write a book in the field of fiqh in which people could have accurate information, whereupon Shaykh Sadūq decided to write *Man Lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh*, which is still considered one of the four most authoritative books of Shīʿa. In addition, considering that 71 assemblies of Shaykh Sadūq's book *Amālī* took place in Balkh, it will be seen that the city was very lively in terms of hadith activities.

Alid Migration

Balkh was one of the most preferred cities for the migration of the descendants of ʿAli to the eastern lands. Many of the descendants of Mūsā al-Kāzim's son Hamza b. Mūsā al-Kāzim migrated to Khorasan. It is known that some of the sons of Hamza b. Hamza b. Mūsā al-Kāzim migrated to Balkh and settled there.[994]

An examination of the people who migrated to Balkh and the surrounding settlements reveals that, except for a few de-

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[992] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 392.

[993] Shaykh Sadūq lists the people from whom he received hadith from this city: Abū Abdullah al- Husayn ibn Muhammad al- Ashnānī al-Rāzī al-Adl, Abū Abdullah al-Husayn ibn Ahmad al-Astarabadī al-Adeniy, Abū ʿAli al-Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Amr al-Attar, Abū Nasr Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Tamim al-Sarakhsī, Hakīm Abū Hamid Ahmad ibn al-Husayn ibn ʿAli, Abū Hasan Muhammad ibn Said Aziz Samarqandī, Abū Qāsim Ubaydullah ibn Ahmad Faqīh. (See *Man lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*, I/15-18.)

[994] Ibn 'Anba, *ʿUmdat al-Tālib,* 124.

scendants of Jaʿfar b. Abī Tālib, the majority were from the lineage of Hasan and Husayn. There is no record of the other Alid other than Hasan and Husayn.[995]

Important Shiʿite Personalities

Muhammad b. Ishaq Talaqānī (3rd/9th century)

There is not enough information about him. Judging from the fact that Shaykh Sadūq narrates many narrations through him in *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, it seems that he was one of the closest people to Ali al-Ridā when he was in Khorasan. In one of these narrations, Muhammad b. Ishaq relates that a man in Khorasan swore that he would divorce his wife if Muawiya was one of the companions, whereupon the jurists of Khorasan issued a fatwa that he should divorce his wife. The matter was then brought to the attention of Ali al-Ridā, who issued a fatwa that divorce was not necessary.[996] If the narration is true, it can be concluded that in parallel with the Shīʿa's views on the companions, there was an early debate in Khorasan about whether Muawiya was one of the companions or not.

Ahmad b. Muhammad Faryābī (3rd/9th century)

He is estimated to have lived in the 3rd/9th century. There is not enough information about his life. Nasr b. Ali al-Jahdumī (d. 250/864) was among his teachers.[997] He has a work titled *Risālatun fi Aʿmār al-Aimma*.[998]

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[995] For the identities of the people of the ʿAli lineage who migrated to the city, see Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 90-95.

[996] Shaykh Sadūq, *ʻUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, II/161; al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-Anwār*, CI/158.

[997] Sayyid Muhsin Amin al-Amilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1406/1985, III/146-147; Walawī-Jaʿtanī, *Tārīkh-e ʻUlamā-ye Balkh*, I/172-175.

[998] *Risāla* is registered in the Çelebi Abdullah Library (4/39 403 B 306 I). (See Sezgin, *Tārīkh al-Turās al-Arabī*, I/322.) In this *Risāla*, the dates of birth and death of all the Imāms and the number of years they lived are mentioned. It is stated that this *Risāla* does not belong to Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Faryabī and that Ibn

Adam b. Muhammad al-Qalānisī (4th/10th century)

He is mentioned among those who have no narrations from any of the Imāms. Some say that he held the idea of "tafwīz".[999] His narrators include ʿAli b. Hasan b. Harun al-Daqāq al-Nīshābūrī, ʿAli b. Muhammad al-Daqāq al-Nīshābūrī, ʿAli b. Muhammad al-Qommī, Muhammad b. Shādhān b. Nuaym, Ahmad b. Yunus al-Fasawī, Ibrahim b. Muhammad, Abū ʿAbdullah Muhammad b. Shādhān. al-Kashshī and Muhammad b. Masʿud al-Ayyāshī narrated some narrations from him.[1000]

Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Kasarī Balkhī, Abū al-Hasan (4th/10th century?)

One of the most prominent Imāmiyya scholars in Balkh. He completed his education in Balkh and Nīshābūr. His name is mentioned in the "Prayer" chapters of books.[1001] Ibn Tāwūs in his book *Muḥajj al-Daawāt* attributes to him the chain of narration of a prayer called "Duʿa al-Sāmiri" which is very famous even today.[1002]

ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Hāmid b. Mattūyah Zāhid al-Balkhī al-Shinābādī (d. 355/966)

He was one of the hadith scholars of the Imāmiyya.[1003] It is said that Shaykh Sadūq received narrations from him.[1004] He

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Abī Salj's *Tārīkhū Ahl al-Bayt* was mistakenly attributed to him. (See Muhammad Ridā Husaynī Jalālī, 'Muqaddima', Ibn Abī Salj, *Tārīkhu Ahl al-Bayt*, Qom 1410/1993, 54-55).

[999] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijal al-Tūsī*, 407.

[1000] Walawī-Jaʿtanī, *Tārīkh-e 'Ulamā-ye Balkh*, I/76-77.

[1001] For a study on the historical process of Shīʿite prayer texts, see Rasul Jaʿfariyān, "Şîa'da Dua Literatürü", çev. Habip Demir, *Iğdır Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, (6), 2015, ss. 209-237.

[1002] Walawī-Jaʿtanī, *Tārīkh-e 'Ulamā-ye Balkh*, I/167.

[1003] Ibn Qūlawayh, *Kāmil al-Ziyārāt*, 160.

[1004] Walawī-Jaʿtanī, *Tārīkh-e 'Ulamā-ye Balkh*, II/38.

was one of the students of Abū Bakr al-Warrāq al-Balkhī al-Tirmidhī (d. 280/893), one of the famous Sūfis. Al-Khatib al-Baghdādī considers him to be a sika in hadith, but he does not give any information about his connection with Shīʿa. He came to Nīshābūr where he studied hadīth for a while.[1005]

Abū Zayd Ahmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī (d. 322/934)

He was born around 234/848 in Shāmistiyān, one of the villages of Balkh. He received his primary education in his hometown. In his youth he was known as an ardent Imāmiyya follower. He migrated to Iraq at a young age and stayed there for 8 years. During this time, he took philosophy and other courses from the famous philosopher al-Kindī. He then returned to Balkh. When he returned, his loyalty to the Imāmiyya weakened, and for this reason he clashed with those who held extremist views. Although he was once accused of blasphemy because of his works, this information is not true. He wrote many books in the fields of philosophy, theology, and literature, but two of them, *Suwar al-Akālim* and *Masālihu al-Abdān wa'l-Anfus*, have survived.[1006] One of the Shiʿite scholars al-Tabarī (d. 548/1154) narrated in his commentary *Majmaʿ al-Bayān*.[1007]

Husayn b. Muhammad b. Husraw al-Balkhī (d. 523/1129)

Although there is no definite information about his sectarian identity, it can be said that he was a Shiʿite leaning Mutazilite. Some hadiths frequently used by Shiʿites, such as the virtues of Ahl al-Bayt and the hadith of Ghadīr al-Humm, were

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[1005] Ahmad b. ʿAli b. Khatib al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkhu Baghdāt*, thk. Bashâr Awwâd Maruf, Beirut 1422/2001, XI/594.

[1006] Ibn al-Nadim *al-Fihrist*, 153; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, II/44-46; Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, I/479-480; İlhan Kutluer, "Belhî, Ebû Zeyd", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1992, V/412-414.

[1007] Karîman, *Tabarsī*, II/106-107.

also transmitted through him. He wrote a book titled *Manākib Ahl al-Bayt* and *Kalām al-Aimma*.[1008]

Sulaiman b. Ahmad b. Ayyūb Hulmī Balkhī (4th/10th century)

He was born in the town of Hulm in Balkh. He is considered one of the scholars of his century. He was one of the shaykhs from whom Shaykh Sadūq received narrations during his stay in Balkh. Shaykh Sadūq has narrated from him a few hadiths about morality in his book *al-Hisāl* and 67 hadiths about the virtues of ʿAli, Hasan and Husayn in his book *al-Amālī*.[1009]

Nasr b. al-Sabbāh Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī (4th/10th century)

Shiʿite biographical sources portray him as a person with gullible ideas and a large number of narrators.[1010] Shaykh Tūsī describes him in the section of those who have no narrations from the Imāms and the term "Tayyārah", which is used for gullible people.[1011] He mentions him in his capacity.[1012] He narrated from Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Isa and al-Husayn b. Sāʿīd al-Ahwazī. Al-Kashshī and al-Ayyāshī narrated from him, although they stated that he had extreme ideas.[1013] *Firaq al-Shīʿa*, *Kitāb Maʿrifat al-Nāqilīn*[1014] He has two works that have not survived to the present day.[1015]

1008 al-Amilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, VI/154.

1009 Walawī-Jaʿtanī, *Tārīkh-e ʻUlamā-ye Balkh*, I/419-420.

1010 al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 22; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 410; Allāma al-Hillī, *Khulāsat al-Aqwāl*, 413.

1011 Tayyarah is a nickname used by Imāmiyya scholars for ghulat people as a metaphor for flying. It is used for people who have extreme views such as Allah being hidden in the bodies of the Imāms. For the use of the word in the sense of ghulat, see Khomeinī, *Farhang-e Jāmiʿ-e Firaq-e Islamī*, II/933-934.

1012 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 449.

1013 Van Ess, *Der Eine and das Andere*, I/269-70.

1014 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 410.

1015 al-Amilī, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, X/221; al-Taḥranī, *al-Zarīʻa*, XVI/178.

al-Hasan b. al-Husayn al-Alawī (d. 4th / first half of the 10th century)

He died in Balkh. He was one of Ahmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī's close friends.[1016] Ahmad b. Sahl wrote a eulogy for him and a part of it has survived. In this eulogy, the "Ahl al-Bayt" is mentioned as consisting of the Prophet, ʿAli, Fatimah, Hasan and Husayn, in accordance with Shiʿite beliefs.[1017]

Hasan b. Ali b. Muhammad b. ʿAli b. ʿAmr ʿAttār (4th/10th century)

He is one of the important Shiʿite muhaddiths from whom Shaykh Sadūq received narrations. Shaykh Sadūq met him in Balkh in 367/977. His second grandfather, ʿAli b. ʿAmr ʿAttar, was one of the companions of ʿAli al-Hādī.[1018]

The fact that the city of Balkh was one of the cradles of Sufism resulted in the Imāmiyya being influenced mostly through these channels. One of the indicators of this is the fact that some prayer texts such as *Sahīfa al-Sajjādiyya* and *Duʿā-ye Sāmirī*, which have a very important position for the Imāmiyya, came through the ravāns in these cities, and that connections with Sufis such as Shaqīq al-Balkhī are claimed.

Other Cities

Tūs (Mashhad)

As one of the most important cities in the history of Shīʿa, Tūs is most remembered for the scholars it raised and its contributions to Islamic civilization. The burial of Ali al-Ridā, one of

[1016] al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, I/84.
[1017] Yāqut al-Hamawī, *Muʿjam al-ʿUdabāʾ*, I-II, thk. Hasan Abbas, Beirut 1993, I/281.
[1018] Walawī-Jaʿtanī, *Tārīkh-e ʻUlamā-ye Balkh*, I/292.

the Shiʿite imams, in the village of Sanābād in the city in 203/817 has placed this city in a special position in the history of Shīʿa.[1019]

Before Ali al-Ridā's burial here, we do not come across any contact of the Shīʿite imams with Tūs, which had the appearance of a small town in the shadow of big cities like Nīshābur, Herāt and Balkh. However, we know that after 203/817, many members of the Alid migrated here, and they established scholarly assemblies around the shrine and taught classes.[1020] This led the city to acquire a Shiʿite identity around the shrine in the historical process.

Until the 4th/10th century, the village of Sanābād was known for the shrine of Hārūn al-Rashīd in the same place, while the shrine of ʿAli al-Ridā remained in the background.[1021] As a result of the importance attached to this shrine by the Samānids, the number of visitors increased, and since the Buwayhid period, the shrine of Hārūn al-Rashīd was forgotten.[1022]

Ali al-Ridā's grave was considered important and respected not only by the Shiʿites but also by the famous Sunnite scholars of the period. Abū Bakr Ibn Hudhayma al-Nīshābūrī (d. 311/923), Abū ʿAli Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 328/939),[1023] Abū Hātim Muhammad b. Hibban al-Bustī (d. 354/965)[1024] Scholars

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[1019] Ibn Hawqal, *Kitāb al-Sūrat al-Arz*, 434; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, V/448; Isfizārī, *Rawdāt al-Jannāt fi Awsāf Medīnat Herāt*,182-186; Qazwīnī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* 151; *Hudūd al-Ālam*, 115; Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 288-89; Le Strange, *The Lands of the East Caliphate,* 388.

[1020] Hāfız-e Abrū, *Coghrafya-ye Tārīkh-e Khorasan,* 62.

[1021] In one narration, Muhammad al-Jawād said that the visit of his father (ʿAli al-Ridā) was superior to the visit of Husayn because no one visited him except a group of Shīʿites. (See Ahmad Māhwān, *Tārīkh-e Mashhād al-Ridā*, Mashhad 1383/2004, 147-150.)

[1022] ʿAli al-Ridā's For a detailed study on the changes that the shrine in Tūs has gone through in the historical process, see May Farhat, *Islamic Piety and Dynastic Legitimacy: The Case of Shrine of ʿAli ibn Mūsā al-Ridā in Mashhad (10th-17th century)*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis), Harvard University 2002.

[1023] Jaʿfariyān, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ dar Iran*, 228-229.

[1024] Abū Hatim Muhammad ʿAli ibn Ahmad al-Tamīmī al-Bustī Ibn Hibban, *Kitāb*

such as him have mentioned that they visited the grave and benefited from its blessings.

During the Buwayhid period, a fortress with houses and a bazaar was built around the shrine, and then Amīd al-Dawla Fāiq built a mosque next to the shrine, which is unique in Khorasan, and made it suitable for visitors.[1025] During this period, we witness the beginning of Shiʿite activities around the shrine, albeit to a lesser extent. During his visits to Khorasan in 367/977 and 368/978, Shaykh Sadūq, one of the most prominent figures of Shīʿa, visited this shrine known as "Mashhad al-Ridā", participated in the events of the Feast of Ghadīr, discussed the hadiths on topics such as the virtues of ʿAli, the Day of Ghadīr, and the virtues of ʿAli al-Ridā with scholars in the lecture circles established around the shrine, and dictated them.[1026] This shows that there was a group of Shiʿite scholars centered around the shrine, even on a town scale, and that scholarly activities were carried out here through hadith narrations and writing. It can be said that the scholarly vitality of this place was the reason that led Shaykh Sadūq to come here. As a matter of fact, it is certain that the narrations that were put into circulation especially during this period, which mentioned the virtues of visiting the grave and the myths related to the grave, contributed to the formation of this vitality.[1027]

In the late 4th/10th century, Sabuktagin, who ruled the city, looted the town and the mausoleum, and then the mausoleum was repaired during the reign of his son Mahmud of Ghazni. It is said that Sultan Mahmud saw ʿAli in a dream

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al-Siqāt, Hyderabad 1978, VIII/456-457.

[1025] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 256; Heyet, *Tārīkh-e Tashayyuʿ*, II/60.

[1026] Shaykh Sadūq, *Amāli*, 25, 26, 94. majles.; Azizullah Oṭāridī, *Farheng-e Khorasan, Bahsh-e Tūs*, I-VII, Intishārāt-e Oṭārid, Tehran 1381/2002, II/126-128.

[1027] For these narrations, see Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, II/617-93.

and when he asked him "until when?", he realized that Ali meant "Mashhad-e Ridā" and ordered the shrine to be reconstructed immediately.[1028]

In 510/1116, there was a dispute between the people of Tūs and the Shiʿites living around Mashhad al-Ridā on the day of Ashūra between a Shiʿite and a Sunnite jurist from Tūs (probably on an issue of theology), and then Sunnites and Shiʿites engaged in a major clash. The Shiʿites were outnumbered and defeated, and the Mashhad al-Ridā was destroyed. It is mentioned that the Shiʿites were unable to preach Friday sermons during this period.[1029] Following these events, Sultan Sanjar ordered his vizier Majd al-Mulk al-Qommī to rebuild the destroyed kumbat of the mausoleum, which was completed in 516/1122 and has survived to the present day, albeit with some changes.

We need to mention Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. Hasan Shaykh Tūsī (d. 460/1045), whose name is mentioned in connection with the city of Tūs in the period of our study. Shaykh Tūsī was born in 385/995 in Tūs. After staying here until 408/1017 and taking lessons from various teachers, he migrated to Baghdād, the Shiʿite education center of the period. When he went there, he was first a student of Shaykh Mufīd for five years, and after his death, he became a student of Sharif al-Murtazā. After being his student for about twenty-three years, he became the head of the Imāmite community after Sharif al-Murtazā died in 436/1044. Shaykh Tūsī was one of the most important representatives of Shiʿite thought both in his time and until today, andthe author oftwo of the four

[1028] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, VIII/421.

[1029] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, IX/166; Oṭāridī thinks that this debate was probably instigated by influential Karrami groups in Tūs (cf. *(Farheng-e Khorasan*, I/54.)

major books of Shiʿism, *al-Istibsār* and *al-Tahzīb*.[1030] His most important characteristic is that he was a proponent of reason but did so by giving importance to hadith and akhbār.[1031] Although it is known that Shaykh Tūsī stayed in Tūs until the age of 23, we have no record of his life and his teachers. However, given that he was able to write *Tahzīb*, one of the four great books of Shīʿa, shortly after he went to Baghdād, we can say that he went here with his knowledge of fiqh and hadīth completed. This shows that there were Shiʿite scholarly activities in and around Tūs.[1032]

al-Shaykh al-Imām Imād al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. ʿAli b. Hamza al-Tūsī al-Mashhadī (5th/11th century?), who is associated with the city of Tūs,[1033] al-Shaykh al-Afīf Abu Jaʿfar Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-Shūhānī (5th/11th century?),[1034] Abū Said al-Nīshābūrī (5th/11th century),[1035] Abū ʿAli al-Hasan b. Abi Jaʿfar b. al-Hasan al-Tūsī (5th/11th century?)[1036] In addition to individuals such as al-Tūsī (5th/11th century?), there are also individuals who are attributed to Tūs without any information about him.[1037]

From the 4th/10th century onwards, the city of Tūs lost its importance as Baghdād increased its importance both religious-

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[1030] Muhammad Hasan Khan, *Matlaʿ al-Shams*, I/214, 215.

[1031] Rasul Jaʿfariyān, *Atlas-e Shīʿa*, Tehran 1387/2008, 131; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāt al-Mutakallimīn*, II/233-235; Beheshtī, *Akhbārīgerī*, 51.

[1032] Oṭāridī, *Farhang-i Khorasan*, II/129-130.

[1033] He is a faqīh, scholar, preacher. The works called *al-Wesīla, al-Wāsita, al-Rāyiʿ fi al-Sharāyiʿ, al-Muʿjizāt, Masāil fi al-Fiqh* are attributed to him. (See Shaykh Muntajabūddin, *al-Fihrist*, 107; ʻAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 226.

[1034] He lived in Mashhad. He is a Faqīh, Sālih, Siqa. (See Shaykh Muntajabūddin, *al-Fihrist*, 108.)

[1035] He has a book called *al-Risāla al-Wāziha fi Butlān Daʿwa al-Nāsiba*. (See Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 155; ʻAbd al-Jalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 226.)

[1036] He has a book called *al-Murshid ila Sabīl al-Mutaabbād*. (See Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 55.)

[1037] Abdullah ibn Hasan Hamza Tabarsī, Abū Jaʿfar Mashhadi, Qutbuddin Muhammad ibn Husayn Kayzarī. (See Oṭāridī, *Farhang-e Khorasan*, II/130.)

ly and politically and took its identity as a city of knowledge from the lands of Khorasan. The city of Tūs began to play an active role in Shiʿite thought from the Timurid period onwards in parallel with the importance of ʿAli al-Ridā's shrine. Along with the Safawids, political confrontations with the Ottoman Empire resulted in the Shiʿites being directed to Khorasan and especially to the region now known as Mashhad.

Marw

Marw was an important garrison city where Arab armies settled the most during the first Islamic conquests. Conquered during the caliphate of ʿUthman, Marw was mostly inhabited by Persians, but other Arab tribes, notably Yazd and Tamīm, also settled there. Marw, which was the residence of Khorasan governors for a long time, remained the capital of the region until the Tāhirids settled in Nīshābur.[1038]

The fact that the city of Marw was one of Abū Muslim's headquarters during the Abbasid revolution shows that it was potentially close to the Hāshimite supporters.[1039] The fact that Jaʿfar al-Sādiq had two companions in the same period, al-Khārja b. Musʿab al-Khorasānī al-Tamīmī al-Marwazī[1040] and Muhammad b. Shujaʿ al-Marwazī,[1041] suggests that the relationship between the city and the imams began in this period. It is mentioned that Mūsā al-Kāzim had a companion named Mūsā b. Ibrahim al-Marwazī.[1042] We come across the names of Suleiman al-Marwazī[1043] in the period of ʿAli al-Ridā, Ahqām (Ahl-

[1038] al-Yaʿqūbī, *al-Buldān*, 98-99.
[1039] Perhaps this is why Abū Muslim left the city of Ray and chose this city as his headquarters. (See Kutlu, *Mürcie*, 198.)
[1040] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 200.
[1041] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 286.
[1042] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 343; Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 243-244
[1043] It is not confirmed by any other source. Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 358; It is

am) b. Bashshar al-Marwazī,[1044] Ahmad b. Hammad al-Marwazī,[1045] Hafs al-Marwazī,[1046] Suleiman b. Dāwūd al-Marwazī[1047] in the period of Ali al-Hādī, Husayn b. Ishkīb al-Marwazī,[1048] Ali b. Jaʿfar b. al-Abbas al-Huzā'ī[1049] in the period of Hasan al-ʿAskarī.

Ali al-Ridā's arrival in Marw and his stay there for about three years was extremely influential in the movement of Imāmite groups to this region. With his arrival, many members of the ʿAli's lineage living in the Hijaz region migrated to Khorasan, which they perceived to be more attractive. The sources contain information about a few descendants of Ali's sons Hasan, Husayn and Abbas.[1050] His brother Zayd b. Mūsā b. Jaʿfar (Zayd al-Nār), who rebelled in Basra during the period of ʿAli al-Ridā, was summoned to Marw by al-Ma'mun and was killed there. His grave is in the city of Marw.[1051]

However, as of the 4th/10th century, we do not find any traces of Shiʿites in Marw. Al-Maqdisī, who visited the city in this century, says that in a small grave in a ribat two leagues away from Marw, people believed that the head of Husayn b. Ali was

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mentioned that Sulayman al-Marwazī had a prominent place among the theologians in Khorasan and that he debated with Ali al-Ridā on theological issues while he was at the palace of al-Ma'mun in Marw. (See Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/353-80.

[1044] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 374.

[1045] al-Kashshī, al-Rijāl al-Kashshī, 362; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 373.

[1046] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 385.

[1047] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 387.

[1048] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 398; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-ʿUlamā*, 59.

[1049] It is stated that it is a foundation. (See Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 401.)

[1050] Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 321-322.

[1051] al-Bukhārī, *Sirru al-Silsilat al-Alawiyya*, 70; Isfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlamā*, II/525; There are also other narrations about Zayd ibn Mūsā. The reason for giving the nickname Zayd al-Nār is because he set fire to one of the houses belonging to the Abbasids and burned it. Ma'mun forgave this person for the sake of Imām Ridā, but later he was imprisoned by Mutawakkil and died there. (Cf. Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 367; Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/512; Ibn 'Anba, *Umdat al-Tālib*, 251.)

there.[1052] Although it is unthinkable that Husayn's head would have been sent to Marw, it is conceivable that an item belonging to him was found here and that the people attributed sanctity to this item.[1053]

In the 4th/10th century, Shaykh Sadūq visited the city and is known to have received hadith narrations from some people. These are Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Abdurrahman Hakīm Marwazī, Abū al-Hasan Muhammad b. Ali b. al-Shāh al-Faqīh al-Marwrūdī,[1054] Abū Yusuf Rafīʿ b. ʿAbdullah b. ʿAbdulmalik.[1055]

Shaykh Mufīd answered the jurisprudential questions of the Shiʿites living in a town called Sāghān[1056] in the vicinity of Marw in a book titled *al-Masā'il al-Sāghāniyya*. In the book, which has survived to the present day, answers to jurisprudential issues such as Mutʿa, Masah, Nikah, Inheritance, etc. were given.

Important Shiʿite Personalities

Hasan b. Wāqīd Marwazī (2nd/8th century)

He and his brother Abdullah were among the friends of Jaʿfar as-Sādiq. He is considered one of the commentators of the second century. It is known that he wrote *Kitāb al-Tafsīr, Kitāb al-Wujūh fi al-Qur'ān*,[1057] *Kitāb al-Nāsih wa al-Mansūh.*[1058] However, they have not survived to the present day.

[1052] al-Maqdisī, *Ahsan al-Taqāsim*, 256.
[1053] Le Strange, *The Lands of the East Caliphate*, 401.
[1054] Shaykh Sadūq narrated from him a narration about the marriage of ʿAli and Fātima by Allah. (See *'Uyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/254-59.
[1055] Ghaffārī, "Muqaddima", 10.
[1056] Yāqut al-Hamawī, *al-Muʿjam al- Buldān*, III/389; al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, VIII/9.
[1057] Ibn Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 284.
[1058] al-Taḥranī, *al- Zarī'a*, IV/271.

Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. 301/913-14 ?)

Abū al-Ḥasan Ahmad b. Yahyā b. Muhammad b. Ishaq is famous as Ibn al-Rāwandī. He was originally from Marwarūz.[1059] Initially a Mutazilite, he later began to defend Shiʿite ideas and was therefore widely criticized by Mutazilite and Sunnite circles.[1060] Especially Abū al-Husayn al-Khayyāt, Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāī and his son Abū ʿAli considered him one of the greatest of the malāhidah and heretics. The opinions of Shiʿite scholars about him are also diverse. Some of them had good things to say about him, while others used disparaging expressions. Abū Muhammad Hasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī and his uncle Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl b. ʿAli targeted him through works such as *al-Radd alā Ibn al-Rāwandī*, *Naqdu Naati al-Hikmati li-ibn al-Rāwandī*, *Naqd al-Tājīʿ alā Ibn al-Rāwandī wa Huwa al-Sabuk*, *Naqdu Ijtihādi al-Ra'y alā Ibn al-Rāwandī.*[1061] Sharif Murtazā also criticized some of his arguments about imāmate. However, he states that the reason for his accusation was his criticism of the Mutazilites.[1062] He wrote a book called *Kitāb al-Imāma wa al-Arūs*, which is considered to be close to Shiʿite ideas.[1063] Ibn Nadim discusses him in the Mutazila section.[1064]

Husayn b. Ishkīb al-Marwazī al-Samarqandī (d. after 270/883)

He was a faqīh, a mutakallim, and a well-known Shiʿite

[1059] İlhan Kutluer, "İbnü'r-Râvendî", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 2000, XXI/179.

[1060] For detailed information about Ibn Rawandī's position within the Mutazila and the dimensions of his intellectual change, see Osman Aydınlı, *Mutezilî İmamet Düşüncesinde Farklılaşma Süreci*, Araştırma yay., Ankara 2003, 179-187.

[1061] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālimu'l-Ulemā*, 28.

[1062] Muhammad Javād Mashkūr, *Tārīkh-e Shīʿa az Qarn-e Āghāz tā Qarn-e Chaharrom*, 9th edition, Intishārāt-e Isrāqī, Tehran 1390/2011, 75.

[1063] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 159.

[1064] Ibn Nadim, *al-Fihrist*, 216-17.

scholar. He was a contemporary of ʿAli al-Hādī and Hasan al-ʿAskarī, but he did not narrate from them. He was originally a resident of Qom and was nicknamed "Khādim al-Qabr" because he was one of the first custodians of the grave of Fātima Masoumah. Later, he traveled to other cities of Khorasan, especially Marw, and lived there. It is estimated that he lived in Samarkand until the end of his life.[1065] His most important student is al-Ayyashī. Among his books, *Kitāb al-Radd alā man Zaāmah anna al-Nabiyyi kāna alā dīni Qavmihi*, *Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Zaydiyya*, *Kitāb al-Nawādir*[1066] works such as these are counted. Muhammad b. al-Wāris, one of the shaykhs of Ibn Qūlawayh al-Qummī (d. 368/978), narrated books from him. It is said that he converted a man from India named Abū Saʿīd Ghanim Hindī to Islam and that he later met Muhammad al-Mahdī, who is believed to have been in the state of apparition.[1067]

al-Kisāyī al-Marwazī (b. 341/952)

Abū al-Hasan (Abū Ishaq) Majd al-Dīn is one of the pioneers of early Persian poetry.[1068] He lived at the end of the Samanids and the first period of the Ghaznavids. The date of his death is not known. Al-Kisāyī's *Dīwan* existed and was known until the sixth century and was around three thousand couplets. However, only about three hundred couplets have survived today. Initially, he worked as a *palace maddah*, but later he regretted this and started to write poems of wisdom. He wrote elegies for the lineage of ʿAli and especially for the

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[1065] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 59; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, I/378-379; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 420.

[1066] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 45.

[1067] al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, I/ 515-16.

[1068] Muhammad Amin Riyāhī, *Kisāyī Marwazī: Zindaghī, Andīshah wa Shiʿr-e Ū*, 6th edition, Intishārāt-ı Ilmī, Tehran 1373/1994, 15.

martyrs of Karbalā. When the Buwayhid ruler Muizzuddawla initiated mourning ceremonies for Karbalā in Baghdād in 352/963, this practice naturally spread to other cities. In this context, al-Kisāyī wrote poems about Karbalā in Khorasan. One of his works that has survived is considered to be the first "Mātamnāmah" in Persian.[1069]

Herāt

We have very little information linking Herāt, one of the most populous and prosperous cities of Khorasan, with Shiʿite ideas. Although it harbored a small Shiʿite population until the Safawid period, Sunnism dominated the city.[1070]

The city of Herāt welcomed anti-Umayyad revolts in the 2nd/7th century. In this context, Yahyā b. Zayd and Abdullah b. Muawiya stayed in Herāt for a while and were able to gather supporters here.

Shiʿite sources claim that the Ghur region of Herāt was introduced to Shiʿism even before the city of Qom.[1071] According to this, the people of Ghur who accepted Islam during the caliphate of ʿAli were massacred by Muawiya's army five years after his death. The reason for this was that this people did not accept Muawiya's practice of cursing ʿAli and resisted.[1072] Although it is mentioned as a crime of apostasy, we see in other sources that this war was based on the crime of apostasy.[1073] Urzughānī adds that this love for the ʿAli and the Ahl al-Bayt,

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[1069] Mohammad Fulādī, "Nokhostin Sowgnāme-e Karbalā dar Shiʿr-e Fārisī", *Faslnāme-e Shīʿashināsī*, 4/15 (Tehran 1385/2007), 71-84.

[1070] Qazwīnī, *Kitāb Nuzhati al-Qulūb*, 152; Le Strange, *The Lands of Eastern Caliphate*, 409.

[1071] Mukhtar Aslānī, *Tārīkh-e Paydāyish-e Tashayyuʿ wa Coghrafya-ye Ān dar Qarn-e Awwal-e Hijri*, Qom 1383/2004, 135.

[1072] Qurbanʿ Ali Muhaqqiq Urzugānī, *Barrasī Rīshahāy-e Tashayyuʿ dar Afghanistan*, Majma' Jahan-e Shīʿashinasi, Qom 1390/2011, 113-114.

[1073] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh*, III/311.

which was present in the people of the region from the early periods, contributed to the Shiʿiteization of the people in the later periods.[1074]

In the 3rd/9th century, after the establishment of a Zaydīte state in Tabaristān, we see that Zaydīs dominated the city. In this context, we see that Abū al-Hasan Ismāʿīl, one of the sons of Muhammad b. Zayd, his father Muhammad Abū Yaʿlā, his grandfather Abū Muhammad Ismāʿīl, and his grandfather Abū Jaʿfar settled in Herāt.

Apart from the Zaydites, those who migrated to Herāt in the 3rd/9th century from among the Husaynids are as follows: Jaʿfar al-Hujjah b. Ubaydullah al-Aʿraj Abū ʿAli Ubaydullah b. Abī al-Qāsim ʿAli b. al-Hasan Abī Muhammad b. al-Husayn, a descendant of al-Husayn al-Asghar b. Zayn al-Abidin. Apart from this, we see that the Hasanid descendants also migrated to the city and that these migrations continued to increase in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries.[1075]

Ismāʿīlīs were also influential in the city for a while. In 295/907, during the reign of Amīr Ismail b. Ahmad, a caller named Abū Bilal, who is said to have been one of Yaʿqūb b. Lays' (d. 265/879) companions, appeared at the foot of Mount Ghur and began to preach the sect. He named the center of his call "Dār al-ʿAdl" and succeeded in attracting tens of thousands of villagers around Herāt to his sect. When his activities increased, the governor of Herāt, Muhammad b. Harsama, reported the situation to the Amīr Ismail b. Ahmad. The Amīr sent a unit under the command of Tiykash and Abū ʿAli to assist the governor. Many Ismāʿīlīs were killed in the clash and Abū Bilal was captured. The ringleaders of this move-

[1074] Urzugānī, *Barrasī Rīshahāy-e Tashayyuʿ dar Afghanistan*, 122.
[1075] Ibn Tabātabā, *Muntaqilat al-Tālibiyya*, 349-351.

ment were exiled to cities such as Bukhara and Transoxiana, thus Herāt was freed from the influence of this movement for a while.[1076]

Towards the end of the 4th/10th century, in parallel with the rise of Shiʿite tendencies throughout the Islamic world, Herāt also saw people reciting poems in the bazaars about the Prophet Muhammad and ʿAli cursing the tribe of Taym, the tribe of Abū Bakr, and the tribe of Adiyy, the tribe of ʿUmar.[1077]

Important Shiʿite Families

We observe that there was a family in the city known by the name "Bayyāʿ al-Harawī" and some of them were referred to as the companions of the imams. The first name of this family that we have been able to identify is al-Sāmit al-Bayyāʿ al-Harawī, who is mentioned as a companion of Muhammad al-Bāqir.[1078] Āiz b. Nubāta al-Ahmāsī al-Kūfī, al-Bayyāʿ al-Harawī, also from this family,[1079] Hasan Bayyāʿ al-Harawī,[1080] Ibrahim b Maimon al-Bayyāʿ al-Harawī,[1081] Sayf Bayyāʿ Harawī al-Kūfī[1082] are mentioned among the companions of Jaʿfar as-Sadiq. Judging from the "Kūfī" nisba of some members of the family, we can conclude that they were originally from Herāt and settled in Kūfa.

[1076] Nizamulmulk, *Siyasetname*, 311-313.
[1077] Adam Mez, *Onuncu Yüzyılda İslâm Medeniyeti, İslam'ın Rönesansı*, çev. Salih Saban, 3. Baskı, İnsan Yay., İstanbul 2014, 81.
[1078] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 127; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 138.
[1079] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 262.
[1080] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 203; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 196.
[1081] al-Barqī, *Kitāb al-Tabakāt*, 210; Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 167.
[1082] Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 222.

Important Shiʿite Personalities

Abū Salt al-Harawī (d. 232-236/846-850)

One of the important Shiʿite figures in Herat was Abd al-Salam b. Salih b. Sulaiman (d. 232-236/846-850), known as Abū Salt al-Harawī. He is a famous muhaddith whose name is mentioned in both Sunnite and Shiʿite sources, although there is not enough information about him.[1083] He was born in Medina.[1084] He traveled to Kūfa, Basra, Hijaz, and Yemen to narrate hadith and heard from Hammad b. Zayd, Mālik b. Anas, Jaʿfar b. Sulaiman, Sharik b. Abdullah, Abdullah b. Idris, Abdullah al-Awwām, Abū Muawiya al-Darīr, Sufyan b. Uyayna, and Abd al-Razzaq b. Hammam al-Sanʿānī.[1085] He is mentioned in Shiʿite literature as a close friend and reliable narrator of ʿAli al-Ridā.[1086] There is no information that he lived in Herāt. However, it is known that he traveled to Marw before ʿAli al-Ridā migrated to Khorasan, and that he was valued by al-Ma'mun and participated in debates on the subject of "Khalq al-Qur'an" at his palace.[1087] Abū Salt's sectarian identity is a matter of debate.[1088] Although it is claimed that he was a Sunnite based on the fact that he had some Sunnite shaykhs, it can be said that he was closer to Shīʿa. It was narrated from Abū Salt, *"The dog of the Alawites is better than the sons of Umayya."*[1089] When some people said that ʿUthman was

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1083 Sayyid Hasan Husaynī and others, *Abā Salt Herawī: Rāwi-ye Āfitāb*, 2nd edition, Bonyad-e Pejuhishhā-yi Islamī, Mashhad 1390/2011, 15.

1084 al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 433.

1085 al-Samʿanī, *al-Ansāb*, XII/326.

1086 Shaykh Tūsī, *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, 369; Sayyid Hasan Husaynī, *Abā Salt Herawī*, 29.

1087 al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkhu Baghdāt*, XII/317.

1088 Ahmad ibn Husayn al-Ubaydān, *Abū Salt al-Harawī Sīratuh wa Musnaduh*, Dāru al-Qarāma, Qom 1435/2013, 18-22.

1089 Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn ʿUthman al-Dhahabī, *Siyaru Aʿlām al-Nubalā*, thk. Bashar Awwād Ma'rūf, I-XXV, Beirut 1417/1996, XI/448.

one of them, he replied, *"So is ʿUthman."*[1090] Al-Zahabī mentions him as a righteous man and "Shaykh al-Shīʿa".[1091] He is known as the narrator of the famous hadith "Silsilat al-Zahab" narrated by ʿAli al-Ridā while he was in Nīshābur. In this hadith, Ali al-Ridā narrated the following hadith after listing his lineage up to the Prophet: *"Allah has said, 'I am Allah, the only Allah, besides whom there is no god. So, worship me.' Whoever says 'Lā ilāha illā Allah' with sincerity has taken refuge in my citadel, and those who take refuge in my citadel will not be tormented."*[1092] A hadith narrated from ʿAli al-Ridā reflects the Shīʿa definition of faith that is still accepted today. *"Faith is the knowledge of the heart, the conviction of the tongue and the deeds of the limbs."*[1093] It is mentioned that he wrote a book about the death of ʿAli al-Ridā called *Wafāt al-Ridā*.[1094] Excerpts from this book, which we do not have, can be found in Shaykh Sadūq's *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, Shaykh Mufīd's *al-Amālī*, and Fattāl al-Nishābūrī's *Rawzat al-Wāizīn*.[1095] He is one of the most frequently cited Shiʿite sources, especially *ʻUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*. Among those who narrated from him are Abbas b. Muhammad al-Dūrī, Ishaq b. al-Husayn al-Harbī, al-Hasan b. Alawiyyah al-Kattān, Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim al-Kūfi al-Kummī, Ahmad b. ʿAli al-Ansārī.[1096]

Sources also mention the names of Būrek al-Būshanjānī (3rd/9th century) associated,[1097] Sayyid Abū Tālib Yahyā

[1090] al-Mizzī, *Tahzīb al-Kamāl*, XVIII/81. This part of the narration is not included in al-Dhahabī.

[1091] al-Dhahabī, *Siyaru Aʿlām al-Nubalā*, XI/446.

[1092] Shaykh Sadūq, *ʻUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, II/292.

[1093] al-Baghdādī, *Tārikhu Baghdāt*, XII/317.

[1094] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 235.

[1095] Sayyid Hasan Husaynī and others, *Abā Salt Herawī*, 56.

[1096] al-Dhahabī, *Siyaru Aʿlām al-Nubalā*, XI/446-447; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, I/390-391; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/420.

[1097] There is not enough information about him. In a narration about Fadl ibn

Husaynī al-Harawī (4th/10th century),[1098] Muhammad al-Abbas al-Harawī (4th/10th century)[1099] in relation to the city of Herāt.

Shādhān in al-Kashshī, his name is mentioned as one of the well-known Shīʿite scholars of Herāt. (See al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 381; Khūyī, *Muʿjam Rijāl al-Hadith*, III/372-373.)

[1098] Shaykh Muntajabūddin quotes from him in his book *Kitāb al-Arbaīn*. His work *al-Amālī* has reached us. This work was printed in Beirut under the name *Taysīr al-Matālib*. (See Isfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿUlemā*, V/479.)

[1099] From him, Abū Saʿīd Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn ʿAli ibn al-Salt al-Qommī narrated. He narrated from Abū Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Saʿīd al-Saʿdī, from Abū Hatim Muhammad ibn Idris al- Hanzalī al-Rāzī. Shaykh Sadūq included his narrations in the 26th chapter of his book named *Kamāl al-Dīn*. (See al-Taḥranī, *Tabakāt Aʿlāmi al-Shīʿa*, I/276.)

CHAPTER III
THE INTELLECTUAL FRAMEWORK OF SHIʿISM IN KHORASAN

Ascertaining the intellectual framework of Shiʿism in Khorasan poses a significant challenge, primarily due to the dispersed nature of the extant material, which is distributed over an extensive geographical area and encompasses a protracted temporal span. Indeed, the methodological challenges inherent in the framework of Shīʿism during the initial four centuries of the Hijri era are noteworthy. In fact, what was understood as Shiʿism at the end of the first century is not the same as what was understood at the end of the second century. Furthermore, an examination of the intellectual framework of the Zaydiyya branch of Shiʿism reveals significant distinctions from both the Ismāʿiliyya and Imāmiyya. However, within the context of Shiʿism, the distinction we have sought to delineate as the theological and jurisprudential perspectives is largely inconsequential. That is to say, in most cases, a jurisprudential perspective alone is sufficient for an individual to be identified as Shiʿi. The objective of this study is not to provide a comprehensive overview of the intellectual landscape of Shiʿism's various factions, but rather to examine the ideas they have ad-

vanced and defended. To this end, the analysis will focus on the Imāmite groups within specific geographical regions and historical periods.

Theological Opinions

The essential characteristic that distinguishes Shīʿah from other schools of thought is the theory of Imāmah. Issues such as Rij'at, Badā and Mahdī are among the basic elements of this theory. Almost all of these ideas have been adopted by communities that identify themselves as Shiʿites. When it comes to Khorasan, it is seen that some ideas are more popular among the Shiʿites, while others are almost non-existent. In this section, the main theological views commonly held among the Shiʿites of Khorasan will be analyzed. It will also discuss their debates, if any, with other sects on this issue.

Divinity

The 3rd/9th century stands out as a period of intense theological debates. The Khorasan region was one of the places where these debates took place during the period in question, which began with translations and the influence of different cultures in the Islamic world. In this context, one of the first theological debates that emerged was the issue of divinity. One of the first to put forward his views on this issue was Jahm b. Safwan (d. 128/745-46). Those who adopted his ideas of divinity were called Jahmiyya in Khorasan.[1100] However, the name of Jahmiyya was also used to describe different views[1101]. The fact that

[1100] Şerafettin Gölcük, "Cehmiyye", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1993, VII/234-235; Khomeinī, *Farhang-e Jāmiʿ-e Firaq-e Islamī*, I/462.

[1101] For example, al-Ashʿarī treated the Jahmiyya as a sub-faction of the Murjiah, but he also included it in the section where he explained the views of the Mutazila. (See *İlk Dönem İslam Mezhepleri*, 137, 159.)

these basic views originating in Khorasan were mostly related to "divinity" necessitated the participation of the Shiʿites in the region in the debates on these issues.

Fadl b. Shādhān, one of the early Shiʿite authors who expressed the most views on the issues of tawhid and divinity. Shādhān is known to have written a number of books dealing with these issues, such as *Kitāb al-Tawhid fi Kitābilllah*, *Kitāb al-Tawhid min Kutubillahi al-Manzilati al-Arbaaʿ*, *Kitāb al-Naqd alā man Yadʿiye al-Falsafati fi al-Tawhid wa al-Aʿrāz wa al-Jawāhir wa al-Juzz*, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh fi al-Jabr wa'l-Tashbīh*.[1102] Considering the titles of these works, which have not reached us, it is seen that during his time in Khorasan, especially with the Mutazilites, the issues of divinity were discussed and they wrote refutations to each other.

Fadl b. Shādhān stated that Jahm b. Safwan and his followers claimed that Allah was neither in the sky, nor on the earth, nor in between the two, and that they attributed to Him neither length nor shortness, neither beginning nor end, and that they regarded Him as the air in which everything is included, and that with these words they actually condemned Allah to nothingness, that is, they considered Him as "dead" and condemned Him to non-existence, and argued that such an idea cannot be accepted.[1103] However, al-Jahm's views are not about characterizing God as non-existent, but about the attributes that should be dealt with in terms of not likening Him to any created being.[1104]

Stating that the Mutazilites shared the same view as Jahm b. Safwan, Fadl b. Shādhān criticized them as follows: *"They say that Allah wills nothing but what He does not will and does not love.*

[1102] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 198; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 295; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 106-107.

[1103] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 4-5.

[1104] el-Eş'arî, *İlk Dönem İslam Mezhepleri*, 154.

It is necessary to say to them: If Allah created the dog and the pig, is it because He loves them? Or can we say that Allah neither willed nor created them? Surely Allah is far from their conjecture."[1105]

In the 3rd/9th century, one of the most important criticisms of the Shīʿah by their opponents was their views on tajsīm and tashbīh. According to a narration in al-Kashshī, a complaint was made to the Imām by his opponents in Nīshābur that Fadl b. Shādhān was a corrupt person because of some of his views such as *"God is seated on the throne in the sky on the seventh floor, and His body and all His attributes are different from all other creatures."* However, Hasan al-ʿAskarī defended Fadl and claimed that this allegation was not true.[1106] The fact that Fadl b. Shādhān was accused of tajsīm and tashbīh in his time is probably related to the fact that he was a follower of the school of Hisham b. Hakam and Yunus b. Abdurrahman in Khorasan.[1107] However, contrary to the allegations, it is seen that Fadl b. Shādhān criticizes the narrations of Ahl al-Hadīth that give the appearance of tajsīm and tashbīh in his work *al-Izāh*. Stating that Ahl al-Hadīth narrated a hadīth saying "Do not curse Time (Dhahr), for surely Allah is Time", Fadl claimed that they would find it appropriate to say "O Time, have mercy on us, O Time, forgive us, give us sustenance!". He emphasized that with this view, they would be no different from the Jews who believe that Uzayr is the son of God and the Christians who believe that Christ is the son of God. He also mentioned that the Ahl al-Hadīth believed that Allah created the angels from the hair of His hands and chest and Himself from the sweat of horses, and that Allah sits on the Throne, and he stated that Allah is far away from them.[1108] Fadl b. Shādhān

[1105] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 6.
[1106] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 302.
[1107] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 382.
[1108] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 9-15.

criticizes the views of Ahl al-Hadīth that liken Allah to creatures based on the literal assumptions of some verses in the Qur'ān. According to him, for example, in Surah al-Qalam, verse 42, "On that day their thighs will be open from the terror of it, and humiliation will cover their faces, their eyes turned away..." He took the line of Mutazila by stating that the word "thigh-leg (sāq)" would not mean the literal meaning, but the figurative meaning of the severity of the work.[1109]

Fadl b. Shādhān's vehement opposition to tashbih and his acceptance of verses that could be interpreted in this way as metaphor influenced the views of later Imāmiyya scholars. As a matter of fact, Shaykh Sadūq states unequivocally that anyone who believes in tashbīh is a polytheist, and that reports contrary to it are lies and fabrications.[1110] Like Fadl b. Shādhān, he interpreted the verses in the Qur'ān that were interpreted by some as tashbīh and accepted their metaphorical meanings. For example, he said that the word "thigh-leg (sāq)" in the aforementioned verse 42 of Surah al-Qalam means the fulfillment and severity of deeds. He also mentions in verse 64 of Surah al-Māidah, "Nay, His two hands are both open, and He spends as He pleases", where the two hands refer to the blessings of this world and the Hereafter.[1111]

Sharif Murtazā states that all the Qommites, with the exception of Shaykh Sadūq and his father Ali b. Husayn, belonged to the Mushabbiah and the Mujabbirah.[1112] However, the ques-

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[1109] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 25; For the views of Mutazila on the subject, see Osman Aydınlı, *İslam Düşüncesinde Aklileşme Süreci: Mutezilenin Oluşumu ve Ebu'l-Huzeyl Allaf*, Ankara Okulu Yay., Ankara 2001, 147-162.

[1110] Shaykh Sadūq, *Risāla al-Itikādāt al-Imāmiyya*, trans. Ethem Ruhi Fığlalı, A.Ü.İ.F. Yay, Ankara 1978, 19.

[1111] Shaykh Sadūq, *Risāla al-Itikādāt al-Imāmiyya,* 20.

[1112] Sharif al-Murtazā, *Rasā'il al-Sharīf al-Murtazā*, thk. Sayyid Mahdī Rajāī, Dāru al-Qur'ān, Qom 1405/1984, III/301.

tion of how these two names left the environment they were in remains unanswered. In a narration in al-Kashshī, Hisham b. Hakam and Yunus b. Abd al-Rahman, who were accused of tajsīm by various groups, are reported to have said, *"God is a thing, but not like other things, things are far from God, and God is far from things. It is a body, but it is not like bodies."*[1113] However, a similar statement is repeated in Shaykh Sadūq's *Risāla*, which is one of the basic books of faith of the Imāmiyya: *"God Almighty is One (wahid), He is One (ahad), He has no like; He is Ancient; He is and always will be Samīʿ, Basīr, Ālim, Hakīm, Hayy, Qayyūm, Azīz, Quddūs, Qādir, Ghanī... God Almighty is a Thing, but not like other things."*[1114] As can be seen, the views of Fadl b. Shādhān, a follower of the school of Hisham b. Hakam, on divinity were mostly adopted by Shaykh Sadūq and became a principle of faith of the Imāmiyya.

In the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, other books dealing with the subject of Tawḥīd were written in Khorasan. Among them are Sahl b. Ziyād al-Ādem (d. after 260/873)'s *Tawḥīd*,[1115] *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* by Muhammad b. Ismaʿil al-Barmaqī al-Rāzī al-Qommī (d. after 260/873?),[1116] *al-Tawhīd* by al-Husayn b. Ubaydullah al-Saʿdī Abū ʿAbdullah al-Qommī (d. ca. 270/883),[1117] Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Isa b. ʿAbdullah b. Saʿd al-Ashʿarī Abū Jaʿfar al-Qommī (d. after 274/887)'s *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*,[1118] Ali b. Ibrahim b. Hashim al-Qommī (d. after 307/919)'s *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd wa al-Shirk*,[1119] Abū al-Abbas ʿAbdullah b. Jaʿfar al-Kh-

1113 al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 202.
1114 Shaykh Sadūq, *Risāla al-Itikādāt al-Imāmiyya*, 17-18.
1115 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī* 182.
1116 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 326; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, I/415.
1117 al-Taḥranī, *al- Zarīʿa*, II/324.
1118 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 80.
1119 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 249.

imyarī al-Qommī (c. 310/922)'s *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Azamah wa al-Tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Tawḥīd wa al-Badā wa al-Irāda wa al-Istitāa wa al-Maʿrifa,*[1120] Muhammad b. Masʿud al-Ayyāshī (d. ca. 320/932)'s *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd wa al-Sifāt,*[1121] Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Ashʿarī (d. ca. 280/893)'s *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*,[1122] Ali b. Husayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh (d.329/940)'s *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*,[1123] Abū Muhammad Yahyā al-Zubārī al-Nīshābūrī (d.376/986)'s *al-Tawḥīd wa Sāir Abwābihi,*[1124] Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Husayn al-Qommī (d. 350/961)'s *Kitāb al-Hadā'iq,*[1125] *Kitāb al-Tawhīd wa Nāfiya al-Tashbīh* by Husayn b. ʿAli b. Husayn b. Mūsāb. Bābawayh (d. ca. 385/995).[1126]

Although they have not survived, many quotations from these books, which were created by compiling narrations, can be found in the chapter "Kitāb al-Tawḥīd" in al-Kulaynī's *Usūl al-Kāfī*.[1127] and in Shaykh Sadūq's *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*[1128] is included.

As can be seen, the Shiʿites in Khorasan defended similar views with the Mutazilites on issues related to tawhid. This unity between Shīʿa and Mutazila continued in the formation of the Shīʿite theological system from the 4th/10th century onwards, and some Shīʿites such as Sharif Murtazā were even mentioned together with Mutazila.

Prophethood

Prophethood is one of the fundamental principles of belief

1120 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* 211.
1121 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī,* 336.
1122 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist,* 221.
1123 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 251.
1124 Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 264; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 147.
1125 Tawhid to his son Muhammad ibn Ahmad. (See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 87.)
1126 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 68.
1127 al-Kulaynī, *Usūl al-Kāfī*, I/72-168.
1128 Shaykh Sadūq, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd,* thk. ʿAli Akbar Mīrzāyī, Intishārāt-ı Alawiyyūn, Qom 1988/2009.

in Shīʿa as in all Islamic schools.[1129] Shīʿa's understanding of prophethood is directly related to the belief in imamate. Imāms are sacred personalities who continue his religious and worldly authority after the Prophet's death. For this reason, it can be said that the theological views on prophethood in Shīʿa developed under the shadow of the theory of imāmat.[1130]

In Khorasan, the debates on prophethood were mostly manifested in the form of a struggle against the sects that were considered un-Islamic. Fadl b. Shādhān's *Kitāb al-Radd alā al-Dāmiqha al-Sanawiyya* against the Sanawiyya, who denied prophethood in general and the prophethood of Muhammad in particular.[1131] It is mentioned that he wrote a book titled "The Book of the Prophet". Based on the title of the book, which we do not have, it is seen that this issue was on the agenda of Shīʿa as well as other sects. In addition, it is also seen that there were intellectual differences among the Shīʿites in the 3rd/9th century regarding prophethood. According to a narration in al-Kashshī, Abdullah b. Hamdawayh al-Bayhaqī, the Imām's deputy in Nīshābur, wrote a letter to al-Hasan al-ʿAskarī about the theological and social situation of the city and especially the views of Fadl b. Shādhān. In the letter, he reported that the people of Nīshābur (presumably the Imāmite community) disagreed on theological issues and disbelieved each other. The first of these groups claims that the Prophet knew the languages of all the people of the world, even the language of birds, and that he also knew all the creatures, and that the imām and the walī who came after him had the same qualities, as well as the

[1129] Halife Keskin, *Kendi Kaynakları Işığında Şîa İnanç Esasları,* Beyan Yay., İstanbul 2000, 115.

[1130] Metin Bozan, "İmamiyye Şiası'nın Peygamberlik ve İmamet Anlayışlarının Mukayesesi", *Dini Araştırmalar*, 9/26 (Eylül-Aralık 2006), 95-96.

[1131] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 198.

knowledge of the inside and outside of people. He (the Imām) is aware of the deeds of people in all the cities of the world in their own homes and in various other places. For example, he knows which of two children standing side by side is a disbeliever and which is a believer. He knows the names of every person he sees before he speaks. After listing the characteristics of the first group in this way, Abdullah b. Hamdawayh al-Bayhaqī mentions a second group led by Fadl b. Shādhān. They are opposed to the above beliefs. Fadl b. Shādhān believes that the essence of religion is the testimony to the oneness of God and the Prophet's messengership. Until the end of his life, the Prophet fulfilled the mission he received from God and presented the religion to humanity in full.[1132] With this view, he claims that revelation and inspiration ceased after the Prophet. In the rest of the narration, al-Kashshī quotes al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī as saying that the beliefs of the first group were corrupt and that some of Fadl b. Shādhān's views were correct and some were incorrect. However, there is no information about which of the imam's statements he considered wrong.

We see that Fadl b. Shādhān's views on prophethood in al-Kashshī are confirmed in *al-Īzāh*. In the chapter in which he criticizes the supporters of Ra'y, he states that people do not have a way to guide them to the right path except Allah and the Prophet, and that no one has the authority to establish halal and haram instead of Allah and the Prophet. According to him, God chose His Prophet to explain everything that people needed and sent down a complete religion.[1133]

Towards the end of the 3rd/9th century, we see that the theory of imamate, which completed its formation process, had an

[1132] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 382-383.
[1133] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 127-128.

impact on the conception of the Prophet.[1134] The idea that the Prophet's forward lineage, which included the imams, was pure, and that his backward lineage could not have any belief other than the belief in tawhid. These debates probably resonated in Khorasan as well. Although it has not survived, al-Husayn b. Ishkīb al-Marwazī al-Samarqandī (d. after 270/883) wrote *Kitāb al-Radd alā man Zaama anna al-Nabiyy kāna alā dīni qavmih (*A Rebuttal to Those Who Claim that the Prophet was Following the Religion of His People*)*[1135] is evidence that these debates were taking place in Khorasan.

In the 4th/10th century, one of the views represented in Khorasan, primarily by the scholars of Qom, was the debate on "Sahw al-Nabī", that is, whether the prophet could be wrong or not. It is mentioned in the sources that Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. al-Walīd al-Qommī (d. 343/954), one of the scholars of Qom, was the first to put forward his views on this subject and that his views were continued by his student Shaykh Sadūq after him.[1136]

Shaykh Sadūq argued that according to the available narrations, the Prophet could make mistakes, and that ignoring these narrations would mean ignoring other narrations with the same script, which would lead to the denial of the entire corpus of hadīth. He states that those who oppose him on this issue claim that accepting *sahw al-nabī* would mean accepting that the Prophet could make mistakes in his duty of conveying the message, but this is an unwarranted thought. He argues that the Prophet's error is from Allah and is a means of guidance for people and cannot be likened to the error of oth-

[1134] For detailed information about the formation process of the theory of Imāmate, see Bozan, *İmamiyye'nin İmamet Nazariyesi'nin Teşekkül Süreci*, 201-245.

[1135] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 45.

[1136] Beheshtī, *Akhbārīgarī*, 110; Uyar, *Ahbârîlik*, 17.

er people.[1137] Therefore, he states that to say that the Prophet will not make mistakes is to put him on an equal footing with God, and such an idea is not acceptable.[1138]

In parallel to these views, Shaykh Sadūq relates a discussion that Ali al-Ridā had with a man named Ali b. Muhammad b. al-Jahm (?) about the Prophet's *ismat* while he was in Marw. Ali al-Ridā asked his interlocutor what he thought about the attribution of some of the actions of Adam, Jonah, Joseph, David, and Muhammad mentioned in the Qur'an, which could be considered mistakes or sins, and he replied that each of these Prophets' actions had a wisdom and could not be considered a sin.[1139]

It must have been realized that Sahw al-Nabī contained elements that would shake the idea of imāmah from its foundations, as it is seen that the Iraq-based ulama criticized this idea while Shaykh Sadūq was still alive.[1140] However, the biggest criticism came from his student Shaykh Mufīd. He argued that the scholars of Qom disrespected both the Prophet and the Imāms, who were their successors, with these views. He wrote his works *Adam al-Sahw al-Nabī* and *Tashīh al-Iʿtiqād* to refute this view.

Imāmate

Imāmate is at the center of Shīʿa's system of theological thought. Accordingly, the religious and political affairs of the ummah after the Prophet are too important to be left to the choice of the ummah. This duty passes to the ʿAli and his descendants after him by means of *nass* and *appointment*. For this reason, the caliphate of ʿAli and the first three caliphs who were

1137 Shaykh Sadūq, *Man lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh*, I/555-8.
1138 Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, II/483.
1139 Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, I/381-88.
1140 It is mentioned that Ishaq b. al-Hasan al-Akrāʾī, a resident of Kūfa and one of al-Kulaynī's narrators, wrote a work titled *Kitāb al-Nafy al-Sahw an al-Nabī*. (See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 72.)

caliphs before him and the intellectual and political attitudes of the Companions (sahāba) on this issue are discussed within the scope of the idea of imamate.[1141]

First Three Caliphs

The Khorasan Shīʿa continued to discuss the issues of Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthman, who were caliphs before the ʿAli. According to the Shīʿa, those who were caliphs before the ʿAli were guilty of taking away the right of leadership given to him by God and the Prophet. In the historical process, this belief became such that opposition to the caliphs constituted a sufficient reason to characterize a person as a Shiʿite/Rafidī.[1142]

Negative views about the first three caliphs became visible during Zayd b. ʿAli's revolt in Kūfa. These views were also evident among the members of the Imāmite community in Khorasan in the early 3rd/9th century. Indeed, when ʿAli al-Ridā was at the palace of Ma'mun in Marw, he argued with members of the Ashāb al-Hadīth about the rights of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar to the caliphate.[1143] It is understood that this debate had its counterpart in Khorasan in the early period.

It is reflected in the sources that similar debates took place in Jurjān in the same period. Abū Yahyā Ahmad b. Dāwūd al-Jurjānī (alive before 254/868), who was initially a Sunnite but later became an Imāmite, said that when one of the hadith narrators in the city narrated a hadith about the ʿUmar, he said that the person mentioned in the hadith was ʿUmar b. Shāqir, not ʿUmar

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[1141] For detailed information on the Imāmate thought of Shiʿa see Şahin Ahmetoğlu, "İmâmiyye/İsnâaşeriyye", *İslam Mezhepleri Tarihi* ed. M.S. Sarıkaya-M. Ümit. Ankara: Nobel Yayınları, 2020, 99-124.

[1142] In fact, al-Ashʿarī states that Rāfida was a name given to those who rejected the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. (See *İlk Dönem İslam Mezhepleri*, 48.)

[1143] For details of this discussion, see Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, II/428-72.

b. Khattab. Thereupon, the scholars who were his opponents complained to the ruler of the time, Muhammad b. Tāhir, and as a result, he was ordered by the ruler to be hanged with his tongue, hands and feet cut off. However, a muhaddith named Muslim testified in his favor and Muhammad b. Yahyā al-Rāzī, the slanderer, could not prove it, so Abū Yahyā was spared from punishment.[1144] The fact that a book titled *Kitāb Khilāf ʿUmar bi-Rivāya al-Hashwiyya* was attributed to Abū Yahyā shows that there were mutual discussions about ʿUmar in Khorasan during his lifetime.

In the 3rd/9th century, Fadl b. Shādhān, the representative of the Imāmites in Nīshābur, was also a party to these debates. According to the sources, the ruler of the time, ʿAbdullah b. Tāhir asked Fadl some questions about Islam, and when Fadl replied that Islam consisted of the *Shahādatayn*, ʿAbdullah b. Tāhir asked him his opinion about the predecessors, and he replied, "I love Abū Bakr, but I hate ʿUmar." When he asked him why, he replied, "Umar hated Abbas. When he asked him why, he said, "Because ʿUmar did not include Abbas in the shuraʿa!" and made an allusion to the Abbasids. It is reported that ʿAbdullah b. Tāhir expelled Fadl from Nīshābur because of these views.[1145]

One of the debates about Abū Bakr was whether he served as imam to the congregation during the Prophet's illness.[1146] Fadl b. Shādhān states that he disagrees with the Sunnīte view that his imamate during the Prophet's illness was a sufficient reason for him to become caliph and that the hadith narrations on

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[1144] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī,* 377; Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 80-81; *Rijāl al-Tūsī,* 417.

[1145] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī,* 381; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/400.

[1146] For the approaches of Shīʿite sources to the subject, see Mehmet Salih Arı, *İmâmiyye Şîası Kaynaklarına Göre İlk Üç Halife*, Düşün yay., İstanbul 2011, 160-69.

this issue are contradictory. He also mentions that the Prophet could leave others to serve as imams in his stead, not only in the period immediately before his death, but also when he went on expeditions, but these were not taken into account by his opponents.[1147]

Among the topics of discussion about Abū Bakr is the incident of Khālid b. Walid's killing of Mālik b. Nuwayrah during the wars of apostasy. According to the narrations, Khālid b. Walid came to Medina after killing Mālik b. Nuwayrah during the wars of apostasy. ʿUmar grabbed Khālid by the collar and complained to Abū Bakr, claiming that he had unjustly killed Mālik by favoring the beauty of his wife. However, Abū Bakr disregarded ʿUmar's word and approved of Khālid's actions in this case.[1148] Interestingly, Fadl b. Shādhān adopts ʿUmar's position in this incident and criticizes Abū Bakr. He argues that Abū Bakr was a sinner for not imposing retaliation on Khālid b. Walid for the unjust killing of Mālik b. Nuwayrah.[1149] By listing these and other similar examples, Fadl argues that the Shīʿa's criticism of Abū Bakr is based on his many actions that are contrary to the Qur'an. As a result, he states that the Shīʿah could not accept such a person who acted contrary to the Qur'an as caliph.[1150]

Negative attitudes towards the first three caliphs were also seen in the social sphere in the cities of Khorasan. According to a rumor, which is probably exaggerated, someone who saw a man named ʿImran being beaten in the city of Qom because his name was ʿUmar, asked why he was being beaten and

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[1147] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 347-48.

[1148] For detailed information, see Arı, *İmâmiyye Şîası Kaynaklarına Göre İlk Üç Halife*, 344-51.

[1149] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 133; See also Arı, *İmâmiyye Şîası Kaynaklarına Göre İlk Üç Halife*, 344-51.

[1150] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 179.

said, "He is not ʿUmar!". He replied, "No, he is ʿUmar, he stole the letters Alif and Nun (ا ن) from ʿUthman and added them to himself."[1151] Again in the 4th/10th century, when some people from the city of Qom traveled to Isfahan for trade and said bad things about the Sahābah there, the people of Isfahan confiscated their goods and killed many of them. Hearing this, the Buwayhid ruler Rukn al-Dawla confiscated the property of the people of Isfahan and punished them.[1152]

Another noteworthy aspect of the Khorasan Shīʿa's criticism of the first three caliphs is that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were generally targeted, while criticism of ʿUthman was relatively rare. One of the reasons for this is probably that there were fewer aspects of ʿUthman that contradicted the main points of Shīʿite belief.

Imamate of Ali

The belief that ʿAli is the imam after the Prophet is an existential issue for the Shīʿah.[1153] The debates on this issue primarily revolved around the necessity of the ummah's need for an imam after the Prophet's death. The understanding of nass and appointment, which is thought to have been put forward for the first time by the school of Hisham b. Hakam, is based on the assumption that after the Prophet, there is a need for a jurist who will interpret the Qur'an and help with halal and haram matters. Therefore, the person who would be a jurist should be a famous person from his lineage.

Fadl b. Shādhān is one of the most prominent figures in Khorasan. His views on imamate have survived through his

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[1151] Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/85.

[1152] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'n-Nihāyah*, XV/227; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/84-85.

[1153] Şahin Ahmetoğlu, "İslam Mezhepleri Tarihinde Karizmatik Liderlik Anlayışı: Hz. Ali Örneği". *Milel ve Nihal Dergisi*, 7(3) (2010), 167-188.

works *al-Īzāh* and *Kitāb al-Ilāl*, as well as narrations from him in hadīth collections such as *Usūl al-Kāfī* and *Bihār al-Anwār*. Fadl b. Shādhān states that the person who will be the imam must be from the Prophet's lineage, have a reputation and a clear will. According to this perspective, if the imam does not hail from the Prophet's lineage, the Prophet's lineage may be considered subject to the offspring of his enemies, such as Abū Jahl and Ibn Abī Muʿayt, if they are believers. This scenario, therefore, poses a potential threat to the continuity of the Prophet's lineage, as it could result in his progeny being considered as being of the same lineage as his enemies.[1154] Therefore, it is a necessity that the Imām should be ʿAli.[1155] These views of Fadl b. Shādhān show that the concept of ascribing sanctity to lineage, which permeated the entire Shīʿite thought, was adopted and defended from the earliest periods. In this context, ʿAli's imamate became a means of positioning Shīʿa against all other sects, and those who did not believe in it were characterized as "Ahl al-Khilaf".[1156]

Against these views, Hakīm al-Tirmidhī, who lived in Nīshābur at the end of the 3rd/9th century, wrote a refutation, presumably to refute the extreme views of the Imāmite groups whose activities were gaining strength in the region. In it, he argues against the position of the ʿAli as a guardian.[1157]

After Ali was recognized as the Imām, the need to provide

[1154] Fadl b. Shādhān, *Kitāb al-Ilal* (in Shaykh Sadūq's *'Ilal al-Sharayi'*), I/254-5.

[1155] This view must be the first form of the application of "aslah" to the issue of Imāmate in the Imāmi tradition. Accordingly, it is obligatory for Allah to appoint the person who is the best for people, that is, ʿAli, as Imām (See Metin Bozan, "Fadl b. Şazan ve Kitâbu'l-'İlel'i Çerçevesinde İmamet Anlayışı", *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, XLV/II (2004), 78.)

[1156] Hanifi Şahin, *İlk Dönem Şiî Kaynaklarda Sünnî Algısı*, Berikan yay., Ankara 2015, 172-174.

[1157] el-Hakîm et-Tirmizî, "Al-Hakim al-Tirmizi ve al-Radd ʿala'l-Râfıza Adlı Risalesi", thk. Ahmad Subhi Fırat, *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, VI (İstanbul 1966), ss. 37-46.

evidence for his Imāmate was felt.[1158] In one of them, Fadl b. Shādhān elaborated on these by stating that ʿAli's imamate was established by the "Book of Allah (Kitāb)", "the Sunnah of the Prophet (Sunnah)" and the "consensus of Muslims (ijmā)". According to him, even if there is a dispute about who is the Messenger of Allah in the Book of Allah when He says, "Obey Allah, His Messenger, and those in authority from among you", it is none other than ʿAli b. Abī Tālib. Fadl mentions that there were those who interpreted ʿUlu al-Amr as the commanders of cavalry units, the ulama, or those who were engaged in "amr bi al-maʿruf nahy an al-munkar", and that he asked the proponents of the first group if ʿAli b. Abī Tālib was not the commander of the cavalry and was answered yes, and that the second group agreed that he was the greatest of the ulama, and that the third group agreed that he was the protector of the whole people. Accordingly, he said, it became clear that ʿAli was the ʿ*Ulu al-Amr* and added that there was no one other than him on whom there was agreement. After the Book of Allah, Fadl refers to the evidence of the Sunnah and states that the Prophet appointed him as the judge of Yemen, the Amīr of the army, and the guardian of the property. Fadl also proves the Imāmate of ʿAli with the consensus of the Muslims and shows that there is no disagreement about his Imāmate in terms of his being just and worthy of Imamate.[1159]

[1158] In Shīʿite thought, the proofs of the Imāmate of ʿAli are one of the most frequently discussed subjects. In all hadith books on this subject, there are chapters called "Kitābū al-Hujja", and a tradition has been created by writing independent works under the name of "Ihtijaj". For a study in which this subject is discussed in the example of al-Kulaynī, see Nuran Üçok, *Şiî İhticâc Geleneği: Kuleynî Örneği*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Ankara University, Ankara 2013.

[1159] Shaykh Mufīd, *al-Fusūl al-Mukhtāra*, I-II, Kongre-i Shaykh Mufīd, Qom 1413/1992, I/118-120; Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, I/401-402. This narration does not exist in Fadl ibn Shādhān's own work or in works close to his time. It must have

Fadl b. Shādhān, the representative of the Shīʿah in Khorasan in the 3rd/9th century, states that the main point of contention between the Shīʿah and other existing sects was the views on the superiority of ʿAli. He states that the superiority of ʿAli over the other Companions, especially Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, is due to his priority in Islam, his closeness to the Prophet by descent, his presence with him in the difficult battles with the polytheists, and his deep knowledge of the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of the Prophet.[1160]

According to a narration in al-Kashshī, someone from Khorasan went to visit Hasan al-ʿAskarī and told the Imām that Fadl was seriously ill. There was also a rumor circulating among the people that the cause of his illness was Fadl's opinion that "the testament of Abraham is better than the testament of Muhammad."[1161] He mentions that it was believed that the Imām cursed him because of these opinions. In response, the Imam stated that Fadl had not said such a sentence, that he had not cursed him, and that he had been slandered.[1162] These statements show that Fadl had some disagreements with the Shiʿites in his region and that the issue of testament, one of the basic dynamics of Shiʿite thought, was discussed in this period.

Imām's Knowledge and Qualifications

After the Imāmate of ʿAli was proven, the question of what kind of characteristics the Imams should have, the knowledge of the Imam and the sources of this knowledge constituted one of the main debates of the Shīʿah.[1163] In fact, the discussions on

been put into his mouth after the idea of twelve Imāms had been formed.

[1160] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 303-4.

[1161] In other words, he regards the rank of the Prophets as superior to the rank of the Imāms.

[1162] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 381.

[1163] For a detailed study on the subject, see Bayhom-Daou, *The Imāmi Shi'i Concep-*

this issue started while the Imams were still alive. In this period, a group within the Imāmite communities, mostly represented by the ghulāt, claimed that the Imām's knowledge was based on revelation and was unquestionable, while another group of theologians, including Fadl b. Shādhān, argued that the source of knowledge was obtained through knowledge. The debates about the Imam's knowledge were not only within the Shiʿite groups themselves, but also between the Shiʿites and the opposition factions in the region.

Fadl b. Shādhān states that his opponents claim that the Imāms inherited some books from the Prophet and that the knowledge of the Imāms is based on inspiration. Fadl states that similar views are also mentioned in the works of the opponents and denies that the knowledge of the imams is based on inspiration. He states that his opponents' recourse to opinion for what they could not find in the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of the Prophet is closer to inspiration. He cites ʿAli b. Abī Tālib's narration, *"There is nothing in our possession except the Book of Allah and this scripture, which is its commentary, which contains everything that people need for knowledge in their religion,"* as evidence for this view, stating that the scripture that they have and to which the imams refer is the interpretation of the Qur'ān and that they do not have any knowledge other than that.[1164] These views of Fadl b. Shādhān seem to be parallel to the narrations in al-Kashshī. In this narration, it is stated that some Shiʿites in Nīshābur disagreed about the qualities of the imam and even disbelieved each other because of this. One of these groups claimed that revelation had not ended, that the Prophet and his successors, the Imams, had reached the highest point in knowledge, and

tion of the Knowledge of the Imām, 14 ff.

[1164] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 460-1.

that if the Imams encountered something they did not know how to solve, God would solve their problem through revelation. It is emphasized that Fadl b. Shādhān accepted the end of revelation and inspiration after the Prophet. In the continuation of the narration, it is stated that Hasan al-ʿAskarī stated that the belief of the first group was corrupt and ghulat, while Fadl b. Shādhān stated that some of their views were correct and some were wrong.[1165]

When these ideas are analyzed, we see that some Shiʿite groups in Khorasan argued that the Imam's knowledge was based on revelation, but there was a clear distinction between Fadl b. Shādhān and these groups. Fadl argued that the Imam's knowledge was handed down to him through a knowledge given to him by the Prophet and opposed those who advocated the understanding of knowledge based on revelation and inspiration. A careful reading of the rest of the narration reveals that Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī adopted some of Fadl's views while rejecting others. However, it is not clear whether Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī rejected the part about Fadl's source of knowledge or the part about divinity.[1166] The association of such a debate with the Imām probably indicates that in Khorasan, the Shiʿites who were Fadl's opponents and accepted the theory of knowledge based on revelation and inspiration were in the majority. On the other hand, in the continuation of the narration, Hasan al-ʿAskarī criticizes Fadl in a letter to the Imāmi community in Nīshābur. In this letter, he said, "*Why does Fadl b. Shādhān lead our followers astray with bad words? Every time I write a letter to my followers in that land, there is an objection and hesitation on his part. I warn him*

[1165] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 382-383.

[1166] Tamima Bayhom-Daou, "The Imam's Knowledge and the Quran According to al-Fadl b. Shadhan al-Nîsâbûrî (d.260 A.H./874 A. D.)", *Bulletin of SOAS*, 64/2 (2001), 200.

that if he does not turn from his erroneous path, I ask Allah to afflict him with a disease, so that his wounds will not heal in this world and the hereafter."[1167] Although this narration does not specify the exact views for which the Imām accused Fadl, it is clear that they had differences of opinion on some issues.[1168]

It is understood that Fadl b. Shādhān's views on the knowledge of the Imām are in line with the school of Hisham b. Hakam and Yunus b. Abd al-Rahman.[1169] The view that the Imāms did not acquire knowledge through revelation was also adopted by Ibn Qibbah in Khorasan. Ibn Qibbah says that only Allah knows the knowledge of the unseen, and anyone who claims this for any human being, including imams, is a disbeliever and polytheist.[1170]

Perception of the Qur'an and Hadith (Sahāba)

The issues on which the Shīʿa disagreed with Ahl al-Sunnah about the Qur'ān centered on the Qur'ān's corruption, the nature of the mushafs allegedly belonging to ʿAli and Fātimah, and qira'at.[1171] We see that the first two of these debates were discussed in Khorasan in the early period.

The first claims that the Qur'an had been tampered with

[1167] al-Kashshī, *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 383.

[1168] When the content and narrators of this letter are examined, Mukhtarī states that the second part criticizing Fadl may be a lie. (See *Khorshid-e Sharq*, 152-155.); Indeed, in another narration in al-Kashshī, when Fadl ibn Shādhān fell ill, there was a rumor among the people of Khorasan that this illness was due to the Imām's curse, and the Imām stated that he did not say such a thing. (See *al-Rijāl al-Kashshī*, 381.)

[1169] Bozan, "Fadl b. Şazan ve Kitâbu'l- 'İlel'i Çerçevesinde İmamet Anlayışı", 80.

[1170] Abū Jaʿfar al-Rāzī Ibn Qibba, *Naqdu Kitāb al-Ishḥād*, (in Shaykh Sadūq, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Niʿma)*, I/209.

[1171] For a useful study discussing these issues in detail, see Mustafa Öztürk, *Tefsir'de Ehl-i Sünnet & Şia Polemikleri,* Ankara Okulu Yay, Ankara 2009, pp. 173-273; Also see Mehmet Atalan, "Şiî Kaynaklarda ʿAlib. Ebî Tâlib ve Fâtıma Mushafı", *Dini Araştırmalar*, 8/23 (2005), pp. 93-110.

were voiced by Shiʿite ghulat circles, and the first works on the subject were written by these groups in the second and third centuries of Hijri.[1172] It is observed that these discussions took place in Nīshābur in the third century. As a matter of fact, in the face of the accusations of Shiʿite circles on this issue, Fadl b. Shādhān, on the contrary, in a chapter of his book *al-Īzāḥ*, narrated the narrations of the circles he called Ahl al-Hadīth that pointed to the falsification of the Qur'ān. In one of the places where he discusses the scholars of Ahl al-Hadīth, he states that ʿAbdullah b. Masʿud claimed that the Surahs al-Muawwizatayn (Surahs al-Falaq and al-Nass) were not from the Qur'ān and that he did not even include them in the copy of the Qur'ān that he collected, and then he says that if this narration is true, it follows that ʿUthman made a mistake by including these Surahs in the Qur'ān. He then states that the same circles ignored this incident and quoted the narration that the Prophet cursed anyone who added anything to the Qur'an.[1173] After quoting these narrations, Fadl b. Shādhān states that all of these narrations are invalid and emphasizes that it is not possible for any part of the Qur'ān to be lost or for additions to be made to it.[1174]

The position of the Qur'an in Fadl b. Shādhān's system of thought is one of the main differences between him and his opponents, the Ahl al-Sunnah.[1175] According to him, the Qur'an is a book that contains everything for all people. In this respect, the Qur'an occupies a central place in the understanding of religion. In fact, with this view, he aimed to oppose the views of

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[1172] Öztürk, *Tefsir'de Ehl-i Sünnet & Şia Polemikleri*, 179.

[1173] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 57.

[1174] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 209-229. For the Zaydis' rejection of the views on the corruption of the Qur'an, see Mehmet Ümit, "Kur'an'a Yönelik Tahrif İddialarına Zaydî Tepki", *Hitit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, c. 5, sayı 9 (2006/1), pp. 65-80.

[1175] Bayhom-Daou, "The Imam's Knowledge", 194.

Ahl al-Ra'y and Ashāb al-Hadīth, who accepted the Sunnah of the Sahabah and the Tābiʿun. He said that the Qur'an contains all that is lawful and unlawful and that apart from it, people cannot make new rulings with their intellect or through other people's practices.[1176]

One of the debates about the Qur'an in Khorasan was about the Mushafs allegedly belonging to the Ali and Fātimah. This issue is a reflection of the Shīʿa's attribution of the Imāms as the true guardians and bearers of the religion. In fact, rather than the nature of the Qur'an, it is intended to reinforce the view that "ʿAli and Ahl al-Bayt are the center of knowledge".[1177]

Fiqh Opinions

The Imāmiyya were the first group among the Shiʿite sects to form a distinctive fiqh system. The process of the Shiʿite Imāmiyya becoming a separate school from other groups in the context of fiqh took place after the death of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq.[1178] It is known that during the time of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, small-scale treatises called "ʿasl" were written in the context of the hadiths narrated from the Imām, which were mostly devoted to fiqh issues. This tradition, especially in the 3rd/9th century, gained adherents as a new school of jurisprudence centered on the narrations from imams other than Ahl al-Ra'y and Ashāb al-Hadīth. In the development of Imāmiyya jurisprudence after Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, two main strands can be briefly mentioned. The first of these is an understanding of jurisprudence that focuses on the Qur'an and hadith, thinks independently of the imams, uses reason, and emphasizes ijtihād (later called usulī); the second

[1176] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 126-127, 312.
[1177] Hanifi Şahin, *İlk Dönem Şiî Kaynaklarda Sünnî Algısı*, 67.
[1178] For a detailed study on the place of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq in Shiʿite thought, see Atalan, *Şiîliğin Farklılaşma Sürecinde Cafer es-Sâdık*, 85-183.

is an understanding of jurisprudence that gives the imams extraordinary qualities and relies solely on the transmission of narrations from them and refuses to use reason (akhbārī).[1179] The first of these conceptions continued with varying intensity until 260/873 when the Imāms were alive. From the period of the absence of the Imāms until the end of the 4th/10th century, the jurisprudential trend based on akhbār had a definite dominance.[1180]

In the 3rd/9th century, when the Imāms were still alive, Fadl b. Shādhān was the most important representative of the approach that emphasized the use of free thought independent of the Imāms. He handled the narrations with the method of istidlāl and did not hesitate to criticize them when necessary. In this context, his views were among the approaches after Hisham b. al-Hakam and Yunus b. ʿAbd al-Rahman that were not focused on imāmah and emphasized independent thought.[1181] The views of Fadl b. Shādhān, who is reported to have written many works on this subject, have been quoted in many works, especially his extant work *al-Īzāḥ*. It is known that Fadl b. al-Shādhān wrote refutations to various groups of his opponents on jurisprudential issues.

From the end of the 3rd/9th century onwards, due to the absence of the Imāms and the instinct to preserve the akhbār from them in some way, a school centered in Qom and Ray, which did not attach enough importance to reason and adopted a view based only on akhbār, was formed. Ibrahim b. Hāshim trans-

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[1179] Husayn Mudarrisī, *Muqaddimaī bar Fiqh al-Shīʿa (Kulliyāt wa Kitābshināsī),* tr. Muhammad Āsāf Fikret, Bonyād-e Pejuhishhā-yi Islamī, Mashhad 1368/1989, 30-37.

[1180] Muhammad Reżā Najī, *Tārīkh wa Tamaddun-e Islāmī dar Qalamrov-i Samāniyyān,* (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation), University of Tehran, Tehran 1378/1999, 400-402.

[1181] Cemil Hakyemez, "Şiî İmâmiyye Fıkhının Teşekkül Süreci ve İmâmet", *Hitit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, VII/13 (2008), 21.

ferred the hadith accumulation in Kūfa to Qom and with the support of the members of the Ashʿar tribe, hadiths were edited and disseminated.

One of the earliest works on fiqh produced in Khorasan that has survived to the present day is Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Isa al-Ashʿarī's (d. after 274/887) *al-Nawādir*. This work by Ahmad b. Muhammad, who wrote many works on jurisprudential issues, is a product of the "Nawādir" tradition, which consists of hadiths gathered from less common narrations that somehow did not find a place in the books. When we examine the work, which is estimated to have been written at the very beginning of the period of Ghaybah, it is seen that the Shiʿite jurisprudence based on akhbār was systematized and its own unique views were formed.

One of the most important representatives of this period in Khorasan was Muhammad b. Masʿud al-Ayyāshī (d. around 320/932). It is said that his work entitled *Jawābāt Masā'il Waradat ʿalayhi min Iddat al-Buddān* was very popular in Khorasan.[1182] It is possible to say that his influence in the Imāmiyya was limited to Khorasan because he received many narrations from weak persons and was not considered reliable.[1183] Probably because of this, although he is said to have written some 147 works on fiqh, none of them have survived to the present day. However, many people, especially Shaykh Sadūq and Shaykh Tūsī, benefited from his views.

After al-Ayyāshī's death, Ibn Abī Aqīl al-ʿUmmānī (alive in 329/940) and Ibn Junayd al-Isqāfī (d. 381/991), who adopted the method of demonstration and were called "Qadīmeyn" in Shīʿa jurisprudence, were influential in Khorasan. Ibn Abī Aqīl

[1182] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 214; Heyet, *al-Muʿjam al-Tabaqāti al-Mutakallimīn*, II/158.
[1183] Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 85.

is considered one of the first representatives of theological jurisprudence in Shīʿa. Although there is no information about whether he traveled to Khorasan, it is said that his work *al-Mutamassik bihabli Āli al-Rasūl* was widely purchased by Khorasanians on pilgrimage and taken with them.[1184]

Ibn Junayd al-Isqāfī, another important figure who influenced Khorasan, traveled to Nīshābur in 340/951, where he engaged in debates with the Hanafīs and attracted the attention of the Shiʿite population. al-Isqāfī maintained contact with the people of Khorasan after his return to Baghdād.[1185] Al-Najāshī mentions his book of 2,000 issues, consisting of about 2,500 manuscripts.[1186] Ibn Junayd, unlike those who dealt with the letter of the hadiths, inferred from them using rational methods. Because of his use of this method, hadith scholars, especially those of the Akhbārī school of Qom, accused him of using the syllogism used by the Sunnītes, and this led to the devaluation of his works during his lifetime.[1187] In particular, Shaykh Sadūq, one of the leading representatives of the Akhbārī school, wrote some books after his arrival in Khorasan in 352/963 and 367/977 in order to save the Shiʿites there from the influence of Ibn Junayd. *Kitāb Ibtāli al-Ihtiyār wa Isbāt al-Nās* is one of them.[1188] When Ibn Junayd's influence in Khorasan was broken by Shaykh Sadūq, his works were condemned to oblivion for several centuries. It was only in the 6th/12th century and onwards that his works gained value as the rational methods he proposed and practiced became dominant in Shīʿa ju-

[1184] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 48.
[1185] Shaykh Mufīd, *al-Masā'il al-Sāghāniyya*, 56.
[1186] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 371.
[1187] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 209; Hakyemez, "Şiî İmâmiyye Fıkhının Teşekkül Süreci ve İmâmet", 24-25.
[1188] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 375.

risprudence. His most important work is *Tahzīb al-Shīʿa li Ahkāmi al-Sharīʿa*.

After what has been said so far, some of the issues that came to the forefront in jurisprudence by the Shiʿite circles in Khorasan will be examined in the process and by focusing on the works of the individuals.

Masah

In jurisprudence, anointing refers to the legal cleansing of the head, neck, and ears in wudūʿ with a wet hand on the head, neck, and ears, and on the face and arms with a hand rubbed with soil in tayammum.[1189] The issue of wiping, which was largely agreed upon by the sects other than the Imāmiyya, has gained an ijtihadic identity in the historical process, and has led to the fact that a person who refuses to wipe over the loincloths and accepts the wiping of bare feet during ablution is considered to be Ahl al-Bid'ah.[1190]

It is observed that the issue of anointing was raised as a distinctive element among Shiʿi groups in Khorasan in the early period. One of the first narrations on this subject is related to Yahyā b. ʿAbdullah (d. 182-184/798-800), one of the rebels against the Abbasid rule in Khorasan in 175/795. Yahyā accepted the amnesty granted to him by the caliph Harun al-Rashīd and agreed to come to Baghdād from Khorasan after intellectual disagreements arose between him and the group he had acted with during his rebellion. Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, who gave information about this intellectual dispute, mentioned that one of the people with whom Yahyā had a dispute was Ibn al-Hasan b. Sālih b. Hayy (d. 187/783) from the Butriyya, which

[1189] Mehmet Erdoğan, "Mesh", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 2004, XXIX/301.
[1190] Erdoğan, "Mesh", 302.

is considered one of the sub-sects of Zaydiyya. This group accepted the first six years of ʿUthman's caliphate, including the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and stated that he had fallen into disbelief in his later years. They drank wine (?) and considered masjid permissible.[1191] If the narration is to be accepted as true, the fact that the issue of wiping was brought up here must have been intended to emphasize that they were closer to the al-Murjī-Hanafī circles who considered wiping permissible, since this issue was now one of the main points of division.

In the 3rd/9th century, it is known that some Imāmis in Khorasan wrote works in refutation of their opponents regarding wiping. One of them is Fadl b. Shādhān's *Kitāb al-Masah alā al-Huffayn*, which was probably written as a refutation of the jurisprudential views of the Karrāmiyya in Nīshābur.[1192] Although we do not have this work, Fadl b. Shādhān partially touches upon the issue of wiping in his *al-Īzāh* and argues that the (probably Murjite) view of washing the feet in ablution and wiping the feet over the linen is contrary to the Book of God.[1193] On the other hand, in the same period in Jurjān, Abū Yahyā Ahmad b. Dāwūd al-Jurjānī's (alive before 254/868) debate with the Murjiʿa on the issue of wiping and *Kitāb Munāzarati al-Shiʿī wa al-Murjī fi al-Masahi ʿalā al-Huffayn wa Akala al-Jarī wa Ghayru Zālik*, The fact that he wrote works such as *al-Mutʿatu wa al-Rijʿatu wa al-Masah alā al-Huffayn and Talāq al-Mutʿa* shows that this issue was at the forefront of the agenda in the debates between Shīʿa and Murjiyya.

Ibn Junayd al-Isqāfi's *al-Masah alā al-Huffayn* and Abū Muhammad Yahyā al-Zubārī al-Nīshābūrī's *al-Masah alā al-Rijlayn*[1194]

[1191] al-Isfahānī, *Maqātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, 326-327.
[1192] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī, 295;* Kutlu, "Kerrâmiyye Mezhebi", 315.
[1193] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 204-205.
[1194] Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, 264.

it can be seen from his works that the same issue continued to be on the agenda in Khorasan in the4th/10th century.

Adhan and Prayer

One of the issues of disagreement between the Shīʿa and other sects is the call to prayer and the additions and deletions to it. This dispute over the call to prayer centers on two main issues. According to the Shiʿites, the Caliph ʿUmar removed the phrase *Hayya ala Khayr al-ʿAmal* from the original version of the call to prayer, whereas the Sunnites claim that the Shiʿites added the phrase *Aliyyan Waliyyullah* to the call to prayer, which was not in the original version.[1195]

According to Fadl b. Shādhān, who expressed his opinion on the subject in Khorasan, according to a narration of the Ahl al-Sunnah based on Abū Hanīfa, the phrase *Hayya ala Khayr al-ʿAmal* was present in the adhan until the periods of the Prophet, Abū Bakr and the beginning of the caliphate of ʿUmar. Later, ʿUmar ordered that this phrase should not be uttered, fearing that people would be preoccupied with prayers because of this phrase, and as a result, they might not attach importance to jihad. Fadl b. Shādhān continues his views on this issue and mentions that some of the Ahl al-Sunnah say the phrase *al-Salāt Khayrun min al-Nawm* after the phrase *Hayya alā al-Falāh* during the adhan of the Fajr prayer and some say the phrase *al-Salāt Khayrun min al-Nawm* after the phrase *Hayya alā al-Falāh* during the adhan of the Ishaʿ prayer. Fadl b. Shādhān states that they call themselves Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamāʿah despite their unity in matters contrary to the Sunnah of the Prophet of Allah, and that the Shīʿa are

[1195] For a comparative analysis on the subject, see Hanifi Şahin, "Şia Düşüncesinde Ezanın Yapısı ve Geçirdiği Değişimlerin Dini Temeli", *e-Makâlât Mezhep Araştırmaları Dergisi*, V/1 (Bahar 2012), pp. 35-65.

the ones who truly follow the Prophet's path, claiming that their practices are the most correct in this regard.[1196]

The issue of the call to prayer was considered such an important matter for the Shiʿites that Hasan b. Zayd, who founded the Zaydite State in Tabaristān, made it obligatory for all people to use the phrase *Hayya alā Khayr al-ʿAmal* during the call to prayer and the qāmat in 252/886.[1197] This shows that the call to prayer was one of the manifestations of the Shiʿite and Sunnite differentiation as early as the 3rd/9th century.

Until the late 4th/10th century, the only difference between Shiʿite and Sunnite call to prayer was the phrase *Hayya alā Khayr al-ʿAmal*. In other words, it is understood that the phrases related to the guardianship of the ʿAli, which were added to the call to prayer, were out of the question. In this period, Shaykh Sadūq states that a group of ghulat called "Mufawwida" added some expressions to the call to prayer that did not actually exist and condemns them. In this regard, Shaykh Sadūq makes the following statements:

> "May Allah curse Mufawwidah. They fabricated some narrations and added the phrase Muhammadun wa Āli Muhammadin Khayr al-Bariyyah to the adhan twice. In one narration, they added the phrase Ashhadu anna Muhammadun Rasoolullah to be said twice after the phrase Ashhadu anna Aliyyan Waliyyullah, and in another narration they added the phrase Ashhadu anna Aliyyan Amīr al-Mu'minīne Haqqan to be said twice in its place. There is no doubt that Ali is the Walī of Allah and he is indeed the Amīr of the believers. And Muhammad and his family are the best of all beings. But none of these statements added above are from the original adhan. I have mentioned

[1196] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 201-204.
[1197] Ibn Isfandiyar, *The History of Tabaristan*, 174-175.

these narrations in my book to make it known that those who are accused of tafwīz and those who try to show themselves to be from us are not from us."[1198]

From these statements of Shaykh Sadūq, it is clear that the incident probably took place in one of the cities of Khorasan. Because Shaykh Sadūq, who wrote his book *Man Lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh* while he was in Khorasan, says that he heard the additions to the call to prayer and that he specifically included this in his book. The fact that Shaykh Sadūq, who was in close contact with Baghdād and spent most of his life in Qom and Ray, mentions these additions to the adhan suggests that he may have heard this news while writing his book in Khorasan.[1199]

In addition to these differences regarding the call to prayer, some issues related to prayer were also the subject of debate in Khorasan. Although there was no disagreement about the obligatory parts of the prayer, there were minor differences about the sunnahs. Fadl b. Shādhān says that the phrase "wa taʿāla jadduk", which is said at the beginning of the prayer and is based on a hadith, is one of ʿUmar's fabrications and people are clinging to it as a sunnah. According to him, this statement has no place in the Qur'an nor in the Prophet's Sunnah.[1200]

Fadl b. Shādhān states that another point of disagreement regarding the prayer is the prostration of recitation. According to him, performing prostration after the verses of prostration that are recited during the prayer would increase the number of prostrations, which is accepted by the entire Ummah, and this is based neither on the Qur'an nor on the Sunnah of the Proph-

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[1198] Shaykh Sadūq, *Man lā Yaḥḍuruh al-Faqīh*, I/441-42.

[1199] Suyutī mentions that the Qarmatians, who emerged in Kūfa in 278/891, made additions to the adhan, but he does not explain how this happened. (See Suyuti, *Halifeler Tarihi*, çev. Onur Özatağ, Ötüken yay., İstanbul 2014, 380.)

[1200] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 205.

et. It would be better not to recite these verses in the prayer so as not to increase the number of prostrations.[1201] Apart from this, minor differences in obedience to congregational prayer are also mentioned.

It is seen that some differences in funeral prayers were also on the agenda in Khorasan in the 4th/10th century. Ibn Funduq states that Muhammad b. Ahmad Zubāra (d. 360/970) took five takbirs in a funeral prayer he led, implying that he belonged to the Imāmiyya.[1202] Indeed, Shiʿite jurisprudence emphasizes that not performing the funeral prayer with the five takbirs means opposition to Allah and His Messenger.[1203]

Zakāt and Khums

There are no deep differences of opinion among the sects regarding zakāt, which is one of the basic financial obligations imposed on individuals by Islam. The differences on this issue are mainly centered on to whom the zakāt should be paid. According to the Imāmiyya, during the Imam's lifetime, zakāt should be delivered either to the Imām himself or to those appointed by him.[1204] This is because zakāt can only be distributed to those who are known to be Shīʿa,[1205] The Imām and his followers will be able to recognize these people. Therefore, Shīʿa believes that zakāt, which is a religious obligation, can only be disposed of by the Imāms, due to the fact that Shīʿa considers those who rule in cases where a member of the Prophet's family does not rule as usurpers. Based on this fact, it is known that zakat was sent by

[1201] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 205-206.
[1202] Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-Ansāb*, II/494.
[1203] Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, II/258
[1204] Norman Calder, "Zakat in Imami Shii Jurisprudence, from The Tenth to The Sixteenth Century A.D.", *Bulletin of SOAS*, 44 (1981), 135.
[1205] Shaykh Sadūq, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār al-Ridā*, II/258.

the Shiʿites from many cities in Khorasan to Medina and Iraq, where the imams lived, as early as the reign of Jaʿfar al-Sādiq.[1206]

Khums refers to the one-fifth share taken from the booty or from certain goods listed in this provision.[1207] From the 5th/11th century onwards, the scope of khums was expanded and it began to be taken from all kinds of goods and earnings in addition to booty.[1208] The khums, which was given to the Imams themselves or to their deputies appointed by the Imāms and distributed by the Imāms while they were alive, was given to the safīrs during the period of ghaybah.[1209] Khums, which was evaluated in a different way from 329/941, the beginning of the Ghaybah al-Kubrā, began to be given to the mujtahids, the representatives of the Imāms on earth, from the 5th/11th century onwards.[1210]

It is known that members of the Imāmite community sent the zakāt and khums of their wealth from various regions to the imāms from the early period. It is mentioned in the sources that members of the Ashʿar tribe living in Qom were the first to send the khums of their wealth to the imāms.[1211] It is known that a separate work on khums in this period was written by Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Farrūh al-Saffār al-Qommî (d. 290/903).[1212]

Family Law

Some issues concerning family law, such as marriage, ta-

1206 Qutbuddin Rawandī, *al-Harāʾij wa al-Jarāʾih*, I/328-331.

1207 Mustafa Öz, "Şîa'da Humus", *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1998, XVIII/369.

1208 Öz, "Şîa'da Humus", XVIII/369-370.

1209 Norman Calder, "Khums in Imami Shii Jurisprudence, from The Tenth to The Sixteenth Century A.D." *Bulletin of SOAS*, 45 (1982), 145.

1210 Mazlum Uyar, *Şiî Ulemanın Otoritesinin Temelleri*, Kaknüs yay., İstanbul 2004, 29.

1211 Qommī, *Tārīkh-e Qom*, 402.

1212 al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 338.

laq, and inheritance, have been the main topics of debate between the Shīʿah and other sects since very early times. Fadl b. Shādhān is one of the most prominent commentators on this subject. His interpretations based on Qur'an and Sunnah-centered jurisprudence on these issues have found a place in the earliest Shīʿa fiqh books. It is mentioned in the sources that he wrote books titled in this regard, *Kitāb al-Farāiz al-Kabīr, Kitāb al-Farāiz al-Saghīr, Kitāb al-Farāiz al-Awsat*, *Kitāb al-Mutʿatayn Mutʿa al-Nisā and Mutʿa al-Hajj, Kitāb al-Naqd alā Abī ʿUbayd (al-Harawī) fi al-Talāq,*[1213] *Kitāb al-Talāq*. Although these works have not survived to the present day, his views have been accepted as an authority in many Shiʿi fiqh books, especially *Usūl al-Kāfī, Man Lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh, Tahzīb al-Ahkām* and *al-Istibsār*.

Fadl b. Shādhān expressed the following view, attributing it to the Ahl al-Sunnah circles:

> "If a man marries a woman and divorces her after having intercourse with her, and an hour later he renounces his divorce and renews the contract and divorces her without intercourse, according to Ahl al-Sunnah, he does not have to wait for iddat, because divorce before intercourse does not require iddat, and it is permissible for another man to marry her on the same day. It is permissible even if this scene is repeated. This means that several people can marry this woman in one day, which is an ugly business that is unprecedented in Islam."[1214]

This view, which Fadl expressed and attributed to Ahl al-Sunnah, was not unanimous among the jurists of Ahl al-Sunnah.

One of the issues that Fadl b. Shādhān insistently defended is the issue of Mutʿa, about which he also wrote an inde-

[1213] This work was published by Mahdī Bayāt Mukhtārī in Qom in 1392/2013 under the same title as a separate edition by compiling the narrations of the author in various books.

[1214] Shaykh Mufīd, *al-Fusūl al-Mukhtāra*, 178-80.

pendent work. He argues that Mutʿa was practiced during the reigns of the Prophet and Abū Bakr, and that this practice was abolished by ʿUmar.[1215] The fact that the first traces of this view, which is still defended today, are found in Fadl b. Shādhān shows that the issue was a subject of debate in Khorasan.

It is seen that Fadl b. Shādhān and many other Imāmiyya scholars put forward detailed views on inheritance and its division. It is likely that this issue was brought up as a result of the events that took place after the Prophet's death, which the Shiʿites turned into an issue of faith. According to the sources, ʿAli and Abbas asked for a share of the spoils of Banī Nādir on the grounds that they were the heirs of the Prophet, but their requests were rejected by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Moreover, the fact that the lands of Fadak were not given to Fātimah by Abū Bakr has caused Shiʿites to raise the issue of inheritance frequently from past to present.[1216]

In the 3rd/9th century, it is seen that these debates were also taking place in Khorasan. Fadl b. Shādhān, after stating that the Ahl al-Sunnah accepted that if a man dies and leaves behind daughters, two-thirds of the inheritance should be given to his daughters and one-third to the relatives of the deceased, posed a question to the Ahl al-Sunnah scholars, "If the deceased has 30 thousand dirhams, 28 daughters and 1 son, how is it divided?". They replied that each daughter would receive a thousand dirhams and one son would receive 2,000 dirhams. Then Fadl continued his questions and said, "If he

[1215] Fadl b. Shādhān, *al-Īzāh*, 432-33.

[1216] In fact, the name of Fadak has become a matter of faith rather than a historical event for Shiʿites. In Iran, the name of Fadak is given as the name of many places such as hotels, restaurants, streets, avenues, apartments, publishing houses, etc. and this name is kept alive in the minds.

has 28 daughters and an uncle's son, then according to this rule, 20,000 dirhams should be given to the daughters and 10,000 dirhams to the uncle's son. Thus, the share of the man's own son is less than that of his uncle's son. This contradicts the Qur'anic principle that the priority of the son is closer than the relative."[1217] It is seen that these and similar discussions on the share of daughters in inheritance have a background of asabiyyah between the Shīʿah and Ahl al-Sunnah factions regarding the heirship of Fātimah to the Prophet, which has continued from the past to the present. These debates are also noteworthy in that they show that Shiʿi jurisprudence had already begun to take shape in the 3rd/9th century on the basis of basic points of distinction.

It is observed that the issues concerning family law were frequently discussed and written about by Khorasanian authors. Among them, Yunus b. ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Qommī's *Kitāb ʿIlāl al-Nikāh wa Tahlīl al-Mut'a,* Abū Yahyā (Ahmad b. Dāwud) al-Jurjānī (alive before 254/868)'s *Kitāb al-Taswiya*, *Kitāb al-Talāq al-Majnūn*, *Kitāb fī Nikāh al-Sukarān*, *al-Mutʿa wa al-Rijʿat wa al-Masah alā al-Huffayn and Talaq al-Mutʿa,*[1218] Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Isa b. ʿAbdullah b. Saʿd al-Ashʿarī Abū Jaʿfar al-Qommī (d. after 274/887)'s, *Kitāb al-Mutʿa,*[1219] Husayn b. Ubaydullah al-Saʿdī Abū ʿAbdullah al-Qommī (d. ca. 270/883)'s *Al-Mutʿa,*[1220] Hasan b. Horzāz's *Kitāb al-Mutʿa*[1221] such as his works can be counted.

[1217] Shaykh Mufīd, *al-Fusūl al-Mukhtāra,* 182.
[1218] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maālim al-Ulamā*, 41.
[1219] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 80.
[1220] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 43.
[1221] al-Najāshī, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, 44; Shaykh Tūsī, *al-Fihrist,* 110; al-Taḥranī, *al- Zarīʿa,* XIX/64-65.

CONCLUSION

During the initial centuries of Islam's existence, Khorasan, a term encompassing the entire eastern region, emerged as a crucible for the genesis and evolution of diverse political, religious, and intellectual movements. The geographical distance of Khorasan from the caliphate's center rendered it a focal point for diverse religious, sectarian, and cultural movements. The political repression and social discrimination perpetrated by certain Umayyad rulers incited profound resistance from the recently converted Muslim populations, leading to their unification and organization. Consequently, it is not coincidental that the initial sectarian debates emerged in Kūfa and subsequently in Khorasan, regions where political influence was minimal and there was a vacuum of authority. Indeed, Kharijism, one of the earliest sects, and subsequently al-Murjia, were able to appeal more readily to the recently converted Muslims with the promise of equality in religious and social status and found easier representation in these regions.

During the Umayyad period, groups that faced social and economic oppression gravitated toward the Kharijite and Shiʿite groups, whose oppositional identity became predominant from the 1st/7th century. During this era, the Mawālī, which denotes

all non-Arab groups, provided support to any individual who posed an alternative to the Umayyads, serving as a means of self-expression. In this context, the most significant alternative to the Umayyads was the Hashimids, with whom they had an ancient background of struggle. The profound and enduring impact of this historical rivalry is evident in the broader context of the political and intellectual movements that characterized this era, persisting until the ascension of the Abbasids.

The initial groups to manifest in Khorasan within the framework of Shiʿite ideas were Muhammad b. al-Hanafiyya and then the Kaysāniyya, who acknowledged his son Abū Hāshim as the Imām, and the associated ghulat movements. While some sources suggest the presence of a clandestine organization led by Abū Hāshim in Khorasan, it remains challenging to assert that these groups possessed an intellectual substructure distinct from the echoes of the Umayyad-Hashimite rivalry. The assertion by Shiʿite circles that Abū Hāshim bequeathed his organization in Khorasan to the Abbasid dynasty and that the Umayyads were deposed as a result of this organization is also likely to be a product of the political aspirations of the sons of ʿAli, who sought to gain a share in this struggle in their favor.

The most notable expression of the profound love and devotion for the Hashimids in Khorasan was evident in the support rendered to Yahyā b. Zayd's insurrection. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that this support did not stem from a political motivation but rather from an emotional one, rooted in profound affection for the Prophet's family. Following the rise of the Abbasids to power, it became evident that the caliphs recognized the potential of Khorasan, a region that had played a pivotal role in their ascension to authority and endeavored to maintain their hold on it.

The pro-Alid communities, who had been unable to achieve

their objectives under the Abbasid rule, underwent a period of fragmentation into various groups. These groups included the Zaydis, who advocated for the violent seizure of power, and the Imāmite groups, which represented more moderate factions that emerged around those recognized as Imāms from the descendants of ʿAli. The failure of the Zaydis' successive revolts led to the rise of the Imāmite groups, which began to form around Jaʿfar al-Sādiq, who was recognized as the Imām by a segment of the population. Concurrently, the ghulāt groups, seeking to carve out a niche for themselves, sought to be incorporated into this movement. Jaʿfar al-Sādiq himself eschewed political activities, yet his disciples compiled his sayings in Medina and Kūfa and disseminated them to various regions, thereby initiating a process of instruction that placed his name in the forefront. One could argue that Jaʿfar al-Sādiq's reluctance to endorse the revolts led by other members of the sons of ʿAli was a deliberate strategy to strengthen the cohesion of the group that had begun to coalesce around his leadership.

Beginning in the 3rd/9th century, the journey of Ali al-Ridā, a prominent Shiʿite imam, to Khorasan played a pivotal role in the dissemination of the region's narration-centered accumulation. This accumulation, initially developed in Kūfa, underwent a significant transfer to Khorasan under ʿAli al-Ridā's influence. During this period, the cities of Qom and Ray in Khorasan played a pivotal role in the systematization of the narrations transmitted through the imams. During the late third and fourth centuries, significant contributions from Khorasanian narrators, particularly al-Kulaynī and Shaykh Sadūq, led to the creation of the most prominent Shīʿite hadīth collections in Khorasan. This development culminated in the emergence of the group known as the Imāmiyya, which achieved intellectual preeminence over other Shīʿite factions, assimilating them into its own structure.

In the cities of Khorasan, Shīʿa was unable to provide adequate sectarian education in the masjids, which constituted a significant component of the Islamic education system prior to the emergence of madrasahs. This was primarily due to the absence of the driving force of political power that would later become integral to the success of these institutions. The mosque of Kūfa, which was home to a significant Shiʿite population, is often cited as an exception to this trend, particularly from the third century onward. However, it is important to note that the centers of education gradually shifted to the shrines of the imams, also referred to as "Mashhad". This phenomenon was most prominent around the shrines of the imams ʿAli in Iraq, ʿAli al-Ridā in Tūs, and, as an exception, ʿAbd al-Azīm al-Hasanī in Ray and Fāṭima bt. Mūsā in Qom, although they were not imāms. This phenomenon manifested itself in the proximity of the shrines of Fātima bt. Mūsā. Shiʿites were encouraged to visit the shrines, where they had the opportunity to learn the basic doctrines of the sect from the teaching circles of the scholars who began to settle around these shrines. These scholars also socialized under the influence of the religious climate created around the shrines. Initially, this interest in the Imāms' shrine manifested through the mausoleums of the Imāms' children and grandchildren, known as "Imamzādah". Many of these mausoleums were constructed subsequently, and they played a significant role in the dissemination of Shiʿite culture within society. The proliferation of Imamzādah shrines in Khorasan, along with the intensive religious literature that emerged in their context, served as a conduit for the dissemination of Shiʿism and the expansion of the sect.[1222]

[1222] Muhyettin İğde, "Sosyo-Kültürel Değişimin Din Yorumuna Etkisi: Kabir Ziyaretleri Bağlamında Bir Değerlendirme", *e-Şarkiyat İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 14/2 (2022), 765-788.

During the period under study, the Tāhirids and the Sāmānids, two local dynasties that had achieved a degree of autonomy from the Abbasids, maintained their support for Sunnism. This political maneuver effectively stifled the growth of Shīʿism in the region. The absence of a compelling political agenda and the inability to articulate their ideas effectively in the public sphere impeded the Shīʿites from engaging in the kind of scholarly pursuits that would institutionalize their sect during this period. Consequently, they produced a paucity of works. Conversely, the endeavors to establish institutional frameworks for Sunnism resulted in the marginalization of Shiʿism-related aspects that did not directly impact the public during this era. Consequently, the paucity of information regarding the early period has rendered the comprehension of Shiʿism in Khorasan in its entirety a challenging endeavor.

As evidenced in other sects, the vestiges of the subsequent Shiʿism's endeavors to establish a historical narrative during its early stages are discernible in Khorasan Shiʿism. In an effort to trace Shiʿism in the region back to its early history, Shiʿite sources frequently employ a method that involves associating Shiʿism with obscure figures. These figures are shown to be close to those who are considered imams, but their lives are not traceable. The absence of any extant works by many of the individuals associated with Shīʿism in Khorasan, and their non-inclusion in the extensive rāwī chains of Shiʿite hadiths, which number in the tens of thousands, suggests that these figures are the product of later processes. al-Najāshī's introduction to his renowned work al-Rijāl, in which he asserts that he authored the book in response to his opponents' criticism that Shīʿa lacked scholarly foundations, signifies that these emphases were commonly employed by other groups during that period. However, this observation should not be construed as im-

plying an absence of scholarly endeavors in Khorasan that were aligned with Shīʿism. The existence of surviving fragments of works such as Fadl b. Shādhān's *al-Īzāh*, which are quoted in the hadīth corpus, albeit only in part, provides evidence of the presence of Shiʿite activities in the region, albeit not extensive.

The extant corpus of works produced in Khorasan primarily comprises hadith. These works demonstrate the presence of a robust intellectual environment in the region, particularly with regard to Shiʿite hadith scholarship. Indeed, the prevailing character of Khorasan Shiʿism can be understood as a concerted endeavor to safeguard the accumulation of hadith narrations. This phenomenon led the Shiʿites of Khorasan to approach the Shafiʿite tradition, which was based on the superiority of narrations over reason, as opposed to the Hanafī-Murjī tradition, which was intensively active in the region and based on the methods of ra'y and qiyas. The accusation of Shiʿism leveled at certain Shafiʿite scholars in the region, such as Hakīm al-Nīshābūrī, stemmed from the narration of hadiths that were also utilized by Shiʿites. This occurred due to the fact that the method of transmission and reception of these hadiths was identical.

Given the expansive nature of the region under analysis and the temporal constraints of the study, it has been necessary to resort to generalizations on occasion. Given the assumption that every location possesses a distinct spirit, it is possible that particular circumstances within these locales have not been thoroughly considered. Consequently, it is posited that a more efficacious approach would be to undertake a distinct, city-specific investigation. This methodology would facilitate a comprehensive evaluation of each city in its entirety. In this context, particularly in regard to the cities of Qom, Ray, and Nīshābur, along with the Shiʿite mobility patterns documented in these cities, as substantiated by independent studies, the distinctive

characteristics of Shiʿite thought in terms of space become evident. This analysis demonstrates that the Shiʿism exhibited by each city possesses a unique quality that differentiates it from other regions and cities. It is our hope that this study will serve as a foundation for future research in this area.

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Muslims interacted only with Jewish and Christian cultures in Mecca and Medina, they encountered Sasanid, Byzantine and Greek cultures and civilizations with the first conquests. The most important of these was undoubtedly the Sasanid civilization. Khorasan, the center of the Sassanid civilization, was the first region conquered by the Muslims. Khorasan, which was used for all the lands east of the Hejaz and Iraq, was an important center of culture and civilization in geographical and social terms. This cultural basin played an important role in the development processes of Islamic civilization with the spread of Islam to this region. There are many scholars from Khorasan who contributed to Islamic sciences.

The sects known as schools of Islamic thought are human formations that should be examined with their positive and negative contributions to Islamic civilization. Shi'ism and Sunnīsm are among the leading sects that wanted to spread in Khorasan from the very beginning. Therefore, in order to understand the history of Islamic thought and civilization correctly, it is necessary to know Shi'ism and especially the activities and spread of Shi'ism in the east.

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